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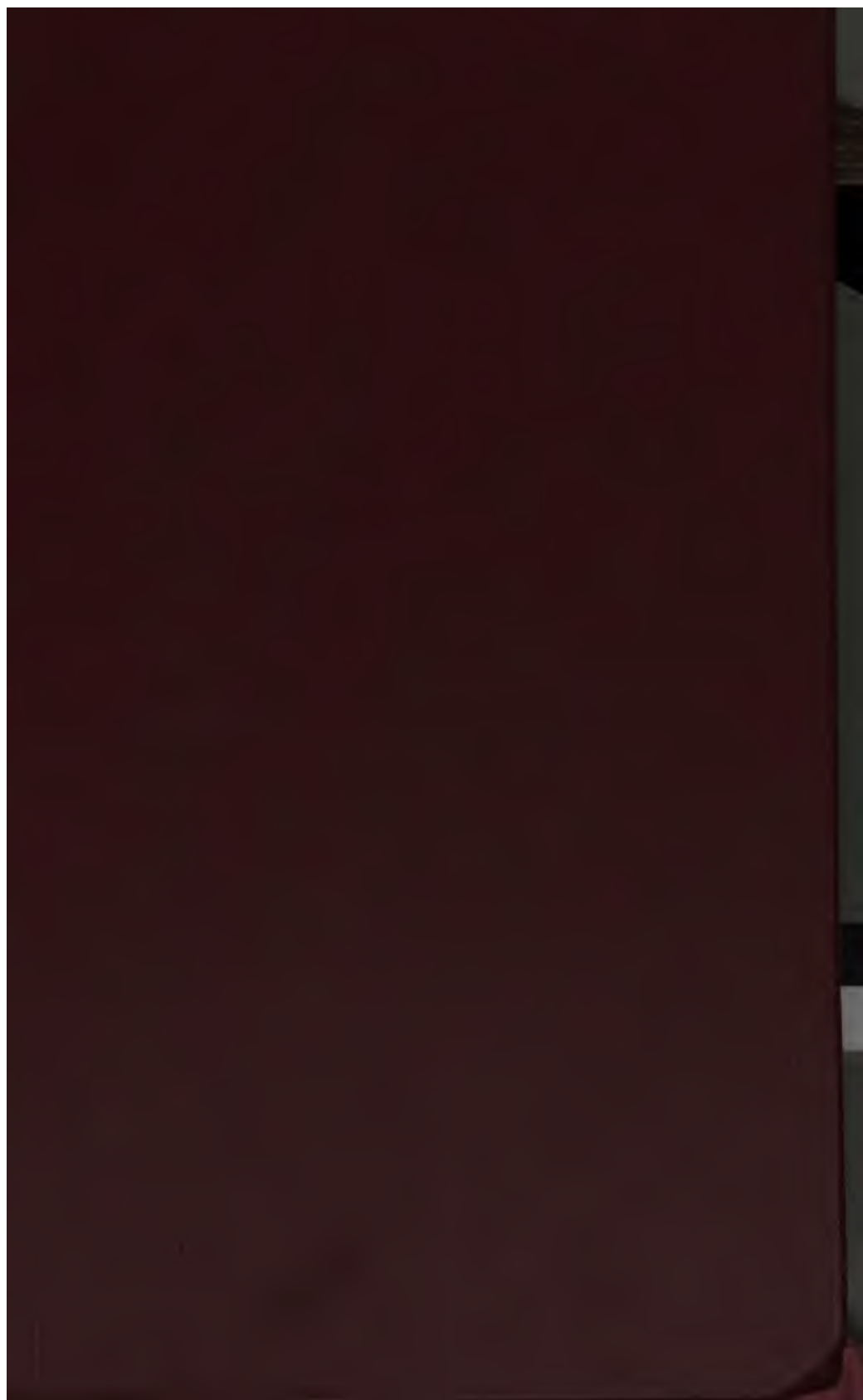
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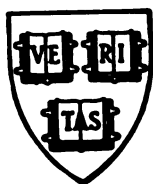
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THE Editors desire to express their deep sense of the great obligations they are under to John Hales Calcraft, Esq. M.P., for his kindness in enabling them to publish a series of letters addressed to his grandfather, by the Earl of Chatham, and by the Right Honourable William Gerard Hamilton.

The intimate friendship which, for many years, subsisted between the Earl of Chatham and Mr. Calcraft, and which continued uninterrupted until the death of that gentleman, in 1772, gives an increased interest to their correspondence; and the letters of Mr. Gerard Hamilton being, in some measure, records of proceedings in Parliament, during a period when all reporting was strictly prohibited, it is believed that the celebrity of the writer, and the substance of the letters, will render them valuable additions to the political history of a period which the Editors most anxiously desire to illustrate.

December, 1838.

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE,

From 1759 to July, 1766.

Lord Chancellor.

1757. Sir Robert Henley, *knt.*, Lord Keeper. Advanced to the peerage, by the title of Baron Henley, in 1760; appointed Lord Chancellor in 1761; and created Earl of Northington in 1764.

First Lord of the Treasury.

1757. July.	Duke of Newcastle.
1762. May.	Earl of Bute.
1763. April.	Right Hon. George Grenville.
1765. July.	Marquis of Rockingham.

President of the Council.

1751. June.	Earl of Granville.
1763. Sept.	Duke of Bedford.
1765. July.	Earl of Winchelsea.

Lord Privy Seal.

1757. June.	Earl Temple.
1761. Nov.	Duke of Bedford.
1764. April.	Duke of Marlborough.
1765. Aug.	Duke of Newcastle.

First Lord of the Admiralty.

1757. July.	Lord Anson.
1762. June.	Earl of Halifax.
1763. Jan.	Right Hon. George Grenville.
— April.	Earl of Sandwich.
— Sept.	Earl of Egmont.

Principal Secretaries of State.

1751. July.	Earl of Holderness.
1757. June 27.	Right Hon. William Pitt.
1761. March.	Earl of Bute, <i>vice</i> Earl of Holderness.
— Oct.	Earl of Egremont, <i>vice</i> Right Hon. William Pitt.
1762. May.	Right Hon. George Grenville, <i>vice</i> Earl of Bute.
— Oct.	Earl of Halifax, <i>vice</i> Right Hon. George Grenville.
1763. Sept.	Earl of Sandwich, <i>vice</i> Earl of Egremont.
1765. July.	Duke of Grafton, <i>vice</i> Earl of Halifax.
—	Right Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, <i>vice</i> Earl of Sandwich.
1766. May.	Duke of Richmond, <i>vice</i> Duke of Grafton.

Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1757. July.	Right Hon. Henry Bilson Legge.
1761. March.	Viscount Barrington.
1762. May.	Sir Francis Dashwood.
1763. April.	Right Hon. George Grenville.
1765. July.	William Dowdeswell, Esq.

Master-General of the Ordnance.

1757.	Lord Ligonier.
1763.	Marquis of Granby.

Treasurer of the Navy.

1757. June.	Right Hon. George Grenville.
1762.	Viscount Barrington.
1765.	Viscount Howe.

Secretary at War.

1755. Viscount Barrington.
 1761. Hon. Charles Townshend.
 1763. Welbore Ellis, Esq., afterwards Lord Mendip.
 1765. Viscount Barrington.

Paymaster-General.

1757. Right Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland.
 1765. Hon. Charles Townshend.

Joint Postmasters-General.

- | | | |
|------------|---|----------------------|
| 1757. | { | Earl of Besborough. |
| | | Hon. Robert Hampden. |
| 1762. | { | Hon. Robert Hampden. |
| | | Earl of Egmont. |
| 1763. | { | Hon. Robert Hampden. |
| | | Lord Hyde. |
| 1765. | { | Earl of Besborough. |
| | | Lord Grantham. |

Speaker of the House of Commons.

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1727. } | Right Hon. Arthur Onslow. |
| 1761. } | |
| 1761. | Sir John Cust, knt. |

Master of the Rolls.

1754. Sir Thomas Clarke, knt.
 1764. Sir Thomas Sewell, knt.

Attorney-General.

1757. July. Sir Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden.
 1762. Jan. Hon. Charles Yorke.
 1763. Dec. Sir Fletcher Norton, knt., afterwards Lord Grantley.
 1765. Aug. Hon. Charles Yorke.

Solicitor-General.

1756. Nov. Hon. Charles Yorke.
 1761. Dec. Sir Fletcher Norton.
 1763. Nov. William de Grey, Esq., afterwards Lord Walsingham.

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

1757. Sept. Duke of Bedford.
 1761. Oct. Earl of Halifax.
 1763. Sept. Earl of Northumberland.
 1765. Oct. Earl of Hertford.

Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant.

1757. Right Hon. Richard Rigby.
 1761. Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton.
 1763. Earl of Drogheda.
 1765. Viscount Beauchamp.

FAC-SIMILES OF AUTOGRAPHS,

In Vol. II.

PLATE

- XIII. Right Honourable Lady
Hester Pitt, afterwards
Countess of Chatham.
Right Honourable James
Grenville.
Lord Lyttelton.
Sir Richard Lyttelton.
- XIV. Lord George Beauclerk.
Right Honourable Hans
Stanley.
Arthur Villettes, Esq.
Viscount Irwin.
Colonel Isaac Barré.
Dr. George Stone, Arch-
bishop of Armagh.
M. de Bougainville.
Honourable Thomas Her-
vey.
Robert Wood, Esq.
Honourable Sir Edward
Walpole.
Stanier Porten, Esq.
Lord Feversham.
Thomas Nuthall, Esq.
Honourable Thomas Wal-
pole.
- XV. M. de Voltaire.
Reverend Laurence Sterne.

PLATE

- XVI. Count Algarotti.
Bamber Gascoyne, Esq.
General Count Lally.
Comte de Fuentes, Spanish
ambassador at the Court of
London.
Ralph Allen, Esq.
George Cooke, Esq.
M. de Féronce.
Earl of Granville.
Prince Charles of Bruns-
wick, afterwards Duke of
Brunswick.
- XVII. WILLIAM, DUKE OF CUM-
BERLAND.
- XVIII. } GEORGE THE THIRD.
XIX. }
- XX. Earl of Northington, Lord
High Chancellor of Eng-
land.
Marquis of Granby.
Admiral Keppel.
Hon. George Onslow.
Duke of Devonshire.
Earl of Albemarle.
Right Honourable William
Gerard Hamilton.

- clouds, was actually at Leutmeritz in Bohemia, with his corps; Lehwald in Pomerania, driving the Swedes before him, and re-enforcing the Prince of Bevern by detachments. The army of observation was before Harburg, on the Elbe, and operations actually begun.

Here's enough to make one giddy. Corn, meal, and bread kept us at the House till a six o'clock dinner; which, however, with such cordials as the day affords, I bore very well.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Thursday, past 6 in the evening.
July 13, 1758.

I AM going to Hayes, with my thoughts turned to Wotton; but business is more overwhelming than ever. Troops to get out, post haste, to join Prince Ferdinand; perhaps too late for the action expected. This is most anxious, and at the same time, to do justice to the offices, the despatch is uncommon, half the horse being to embark on Tuesday or Wednesday. The five regiments of foot will follow in a few days. Next, a returned expedition to get out again ⁽¹⁾: *hoc opus, hic labor*

(¹) The expedition against St. Maloes, which had returned, *re infecta*, to St. Helen's on the 1st of July. Upon the 1st of August it again set sail, under the command of commodore Howe, for Cherburg, which it took possession of on the 8th.

est. This Mr. Grenville will construe to you ; but out it will go, if I am alive, and retain the honour I now bear ; to what effect, the sword, not the pen, must be responsible. I return to-morrow, by ten o'clock, to my oar ; and am not without a glimmering hope of sending you an account of myself in a post-chaise, flying to Stowe, on Saturday.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Half past six.

I HAD some hope of bringing myself millions of thanks for your note of yesterday, but inexorable business forbids, and binds me this evening to a conference with the Duke of Argyle and Lord Ligonier. Suspense, painful suspense, holds us still in the midst of solitudes and gloomy doubts ; councils abound, while resources present themselves but slowly. The great and only sure refuge, I trust, will supply all, and Providence preserve a nation, in order to render it one day less undeserving of the divine protection.

Kiss the loved babes for papa ; and may I find you all in perfect health to-morrow night !

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

St. James's Square, Tuesday night.
July 17, 1759.

I TRUST this will find you arrived safe and well at Wotton⁽¹⁾; and may you have found the dear brother and sister with health unshaken under their heavy load of grief! ⁽²⁾ How will your own spirits and scarce-restored strength have borne the sad meeting? My whole heart follows you, my dearest love, and shares your feelings, in a scene so many ways interesting to me, that I must pass from the subject or put an end to writing.

Our meeting last night, long and fatiguing as it was, made not the least impression on my ailments; nor has the business of this day, together with a review, of no short duration, brought back any disagreeable symptom. Nothing could make a better appearance than the two Norfolk battalions.

(¹) Wotton became the property of Richard de Grenville, about the year 1097, and from him it has descended, through twenty generations, to the present Duke of Buckingham. The mansion in which Mr. George Grenville resided was built in 1705, after the model of Buckingham House. The staircase and saloon were painted by Sir James Thornhill; for which he received a thousand pounds annually, for three years. In October, 1820, the whole of the interior of the house, including the library and pictures, was destroyed by fire. It has since been rebuilt and refitted by the Marquis of Chandos, who now resides there.

(²) On the morning of the date of this letter, Lady Hester had hastened to Mr. and Mrs. George Grenville at Wotton, on receiving intelligence of the death of their eldest son, Richard Percy Grenville, in his eighth year.

Lord Orford⁽¹⁾, with the port of Mars himself, and really the genteelest figure under arms I ever saw, was the theme of every tongue. The King was extremely pleased, and the public so much so, that the Park, through which the militia passed to Kensington, was hardly pervious to my coach at half-past twelve, and the multitude retarded the march of the battalions above half an hour, the King waiting under the portico of the palace. This warlike spectacle—pleasing, and particularly interesting as it is to me⁽²⁾—could engage but in part the attention of such of the spectators as expect, on pretty certain grounds, the accounts of two decisive battles; Prince Ferdinand having moved so

(1) George, third earl of Orford, grandson of Sir Robert Walpole, at this time lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Norfolk. He died in 1791, and was succeeded by his uncle Horace Walpole; who, on the 19th of July, thus writes to Mr. Montagu:—"The militia passed just by us yesterday; the crowds in Hyde Park, when the King reviewed them, was unimaginable. My lord Orford, their colonel, I hear looked gloriously martial and genteel; and I believe it: his person and air have a noble wildness in them; the regiments, too, are very becoming—scarlet faced with black, buff waistcoats, and gold buttons. How knights of shires, who have never shot any thing but woodcocks, like this warfare I don't know; but the towns through which they pass adore them; every where they are treated and regaled."

(2) On the 30th of May, three days previous to the close of the session, Mr. Pitt had brought down a message from the King to the House of Commons, desiring to be enabled to march the militia out of their several counties, on the apprehension of an invasion from France. "Though it ended in smoke," says Walpole, "it was seriously projected, and hung over us for great part of the summer; nor was it radically baffled till the winter following."

as to bring on an action, and Dohna having been almost up with the Russians some days since.

Your loving husband,

W. PITT.

LADY HESTER PITT TO MR. PITT.

Wotton, July 19, 1759.

WHAT a charming account of our militia ! By your description of Lord Orford, I think it cannot fail of growing into fashion ; for the ladies must certainly grow partial to it, and then who will venture to slight it ? But, to be serious ; I do really rejoice that he was the military figure you describe, since it shows that that is to be acquired out of the army, and without long practice ;—the true British soul will give the rest.⁽¹⁾ The approbation it received from the King and from the public are happy circumstances, and such as, I trust, will spread the ardour which prevails already so nobly in some. What

⁽¹⁾ "My principal obligation to the militia," says Gibbon — at this time a captain in the Hampshire regiment — "was the making me an Englishman, and a soldier. In this peaceful service, I imbibed the rudiments of the language, and science of tactics, which opened a new field of study and observation. The discipline and evolutions of a modern battalion gave me a clearer notion of the phalanx and the legion ; and the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers (the reader may smile) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman empire." — *Misc. Works*, vol. i. p. 136. ed. 1814.

you tell me of Prince Ferdinand and Count Dohna makes me all impatience. I trust, with a happy dependence upon Him in whom alone is victory, that he will mercifully grant we may be blessed with happy news from both. Health and success attend my beloved life!

His loving wife,

HESTER PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Monday night, August 6, 1759.

I CANNOT let the groom go without a line to my sweetest life, especially as I have the joy to tell her that our happy victory⁽¹⁾ *ne fait que crottre et embellir*. By letters come to-day, the hereditary Prince⁽²⁾, with his corps, had passed the Weser, and

(1) The celebrated battle of Minden, won from the French by the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand, on the 1st of August.

(2) Charles William Ferdinand, hereditary Prince of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle. He was born in 1735; entered the military profession, under the auspices of his renowned uncle Prince Ferdinand, in 1758; married the Princess Augusta, eldest sister of George the Third, in 1764; and succeeded to the dukedom, upon the demise of his father, in 1780. In 1806, he took the command of the Prussian army; and, being mortally wounded at the battle of Jena, he was removed to the neutral town of Altona, where he expired on the 10th of November. An application from his son, for permission to lay his father's body in

attacked, with part of it, a body of six thousand French, defeated it, took many prisoners, some trophies and cannon. M.de Contades's baggage, coaches, mules, letters, and correspondencies (1) have fallen

the tomb of his ancestors, being rejected with the same sternness which had characterised Buonaparte's conduct to him when living, the successor thenceforward clothed his little army in black, vowing that they should wear no other colour, until he had avenged the insults offered to his parent — and fell, fighting at their head, in the field of Waterloo. In Lord Byron's beautiful description of the evening which preceded that memorable battle, the fate of sire and of son is thus immortalised : —

“ But, hark ! — that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat ;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before !
Arm ! arm ! it is — it is — the cannon's opening roar !

Within a window'd niche of that high hall
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain ; he did hear
That sound the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tone with Death's prophetic ear ;
And when they smiled because he deem'd it near,
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretch'd his Father on a bloody bier,
And rous'd the vengeance blood alone could quell :
He rush'd into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell.”

(1) These “ correspondencies ” were afterwards made public. “ They included,” says Walpole, “ his correspondence with Marshal Belleisle, who directed the operations of the war, and gave orders for the conduct of it, with a barbarity that spoke very plainly how little France was influenced by sentiments of humanity or good faith in pursuit of her views. The Germans were treated in those despatches with the most marked contempt ; the princes suspected by them, despotically ; and even their friends, the electors of Cologne and Palatine, were to be made to feel the misery of being connected with a too powerful and arrogant ally. They were to be plundered, under the observance of the most insulting ceremonial ; but what shocked Europe most, were repeated commands to reduce the most

into our hands ; words in letters say, “qu'on se lasse de prendre des prisonniers.” The main of the French army seen to be flying they know not where ; being cut off, by the defeat of the Duke of Brissac, from their ovens and magazines, they have neither bread nor other provisions than what mere pillage, where they pass, affords. To this point has favouring Providence blessed our immortal Ferdinand. May Heaven send success on the Oder ; and may happy peace wind up the glorious work, and heal a bleeding world !

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

Ce 18^e Decembre, 1759.

MONSEIGNEUR,

PERMETTEZ que j'aie l'honneur d'accuser la réception des lettres que V. A. S. a daigné m'écrire du 26^e Novembre et 8^e de ce mois ; aussi bien que celle qui m'a été rendue par le colonel Boyd. J'ose renouveler ici les respectueuses assurances, que je ne cesserai d'employer tout ce qui est en moi pour rendre justice à un si digne officier, qui a su s'attirer une protection si glorieuse.

fertile provinces of Germany to a desert ; the pretence, to shorten the war. Had their meditated invasions of this country succeeded, one may judge what would have been the secret instructions to their generals.”—*Memoirs of Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 368.

Agréez, Monseigneur, que je vous offre, avec l'empressement le plus vif, de nouvelles félicitations sur la nouvelle gloire dont le Prince Héréditaire s'est couvert dans sa belle expédition de Fülde. Les actions éclatantes se succèdent si rapidement sous les auspices de V. A. S., que pendant que la joie de Munster étoit encore fraîche, ce dernier événement est venu avec un nouveau lustre, s'emparer pour le présent des éloges universels. En même tems, l'attention ne peut que se fixer à l'expédition de Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire, non sans de vives inquiétudes pour des jours si précieux à l'Europe. ⁽¹⁾ On se flatte toutefois que des mouvemens exécutés avec la même capacité auront des effets également prompts et efficaces sur la retraite de M. Daun, qu'ils l'ont eu sur celle de M. de Broglie.

Je ne puis exprimer, Monseigneur, combien je sens la part que V. A. S. veut bien prendre à la victoire de l'Amiral Hawke, et à quel point je suis pénétré de ce qui s'y trouve de si infiniment gracieux pour moi, et je supplie V. A. S. d'être per-

(1) In a letter to Lord Holderness, dated head-quarters at Friburg, 12th February 1760, Mr. Mitchell says: — "The hereditary Prince of Brunswick left this place on the 7th. This young hero, by the modesty and manliness of his behaviour, by his insensibility to flattery, and by an affability which can flow from an honest heart only, has gained the esteem and affection of every body here, from the King to the lowest officer he had occasion to converse with. In talking of the prince, his Prussian majesty said, he was surprised with the knowledge he had acquired, and added these remarkable words: 'Il a le jugement et le bon sens d'un homme de quarante ans, et il a fait tant de progrès dans la science militaire, que je pourrois lui confier le commandement de mes armées.'" — *Mitchell MSS. in Brit Mus.*

suadé, que je ne croirois pas les vrais sentimens de bon Anglois, si je prenois un intérêt moins vif aux plaines de Minden qu'à la baye de Quiberon.

Je suis, &c.

W. PITT.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ., TO MR. PITT.

Fonthill, January 7, 1760.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOUR very obliging and much esteemed favour was duly received. I consider it the greatest honour to have such a sponsor to my child.⁽¹⁾ He was made a Christian last night, and Lord Effingham⁽²⁾ was your proxy. No endeavours of mine shall be wanting (if it please God to spare his life) to instil into his tender mind principles of religion, honour, and love of country. It is true, these are old-fashioned principles; but they are such as you approve of, and practise.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than to take your opinion on my present works⁽³⁾, and to

(1) Mr. Beckford married, in 1756, Maria, daughter and co-heiress of the hon. George Hamilton, son of James, sixth earl of Abercorn; by whom he had an only child and heir, the present William Beckford, Esq.; author, amongst other elegant writings, of "Caliph Vathek," an Eastern tale, written originally in the French language, and which, in the opinion of Lord Byron, "for correctness of costume, beauty of description, and power of imagination, far surpasses all European imitations."

(2) Thomas, second earl of Effingham, deputy earl-marshal of England; who, in 1744-5, had married Elizabeth, daughter of the writer's eldest brother, Peter Beckford, Esq., speaker of the house of assembly of Jamaica.

(3) The improvements at this time going on at Fonthill.

regulate my future operations by your advice and judgment; but I cannot flatter myself so much as to think it possible to enjoy that comfort, until you have first procured for your country a safe, honourable, and lasting peace. I am, my dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and

affectionate humble servant,

W. BECKFORD.

THE REV. LAURENCE STERNE TO MR. PITT.

Friday, Mr. Dodsley's, Pall-Mall.

[January, 1760. (1)]

SIR,

THOUGH I have no suspicion that the inclosed Dedication can offend you, yet I thought it my duty to take some method of letting you see it, before I presumed to beg the honour of presenting it to you next week, with the Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy. I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

LAURENCE STERNE.

TO THE RIGHT HON. MR. PITT.

SIR,

NEVER poor wight of a dedicator had less hopes from his Dedication, than I have from this of mine;

(1) This letter, which is without date, was probably written in the first week of January, as the two first volumes of the Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy were published by Dodsley on the 10th of that month.

for it is written in a by-corner of the kingdom, and in a retired thatched house, where I live in a constant endeavour to fence against the infirmities of ill-health and other evils of life, by mirth; being firmly persuaded, that every time a man smiles, — but much more so, when he laughs, — that it adds something to this fragment of life.

I humbly beg, Sir, that you will honour this book by taking it (not under your protection, it must protect itself, but) into the country with you; where, if I am ever told it has made you smile, or can conceive it has beguiled you of one moment's pain, I shall think myself as happy as a minister of state — perhaps much happier than any one (ONE only excepted) that I have ever heard or read of. I am, great Sir, and, what is more to your honour, I am, good Sir,

Your well-wisher, and

most humble fellow-subject,

THE AUTHOR.⁽¹⁾

(¹) "Tristram Shandy," says Gray, in a letter to Dr. Wharton, of the 22nd of June, "is a great object of admiration, the man as well as the book; one is invited to dinner, where he dines, a fortnight before. As to the volumes yet published, there is much good fun in them, and humour sometimes hit and sometimes missed. Have you read his Sermons, with his own comic figure, from a painting by Reynolds, at the head of them? They are in the style I think most proper for the pulpit, and show a strong imagination and a sensible heart; but you see him often tottering on the verge of laughter, and ready to throw his periwig in the face of the audience."

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Head-Quarters at Friburg, January 15, 1760. (¹)

ACCEPT, Sir, of my most hearty congratulations on the glorious and unbounded success of his Majesty's arms, in every part of the globe. The events of last year are the most glorious and the most important in English history, and cannot fail to

(¹) Lord Barrington, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, of the 14th of January, draws the following picture of the political state of affairs at the opening of the new year: — "If I were to give you an account of the past and present state of things here since I wrote last, I should compose a volume. For the present it may suffice that I assure you of the union, cordiality, and good-will which reign at present among the King's servants. It, fortunately for them, our master, and the public, is such, that there never was more at any period of our time. I could not have said this three months ago, but I can safely assert it now; and I think there is every appearance that the same happy temper will continue. I verily believe that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother did not more cordially wish each other to continue in their respective stations, than the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt do now; and there are less disputes and coldness by a great deal, than there used to be between the two brothers. This union, great and extraordinary as it may seem, is nothing in comparison with that of the parliament and the nation; which seem to have one mind and one object. What is most astonishing, the object in which the whole people is united is wise and good. Do not, however, imagine, my dear Mitchell, that this proceeds from any improvement made by our countrymen either in wisdom or in virtue; for it arises solely from this, — no man who can raise any sort of disturbance finds it either convenient or agreeable to be out of humour at this time. These are happy conjunctures, my dear friend, and I hope and believe the proper use will be made of them." — *Mitchell MSS.*

transmit to posterity the King and his ministers in the fairest and most amiable lights. His Majesty's generous offer of peace, in the midst of accumulated victories, surpasses every thing that can be done by the sword ; as it joins to conquest, humanity and moderation.

The situation I am in, as well as the late distinguished instance I have had of your friendship, encourages me to ask the favour of your interest and recommendation to his Majesty, that I may have the honour of being named one of the plenipotentiaries, in case a congress to treat of peace should be agreed upon. I will make use of no arguments to support my pretensions. If they are solid they will occur to yourself, and I am too much concerned to judge with impartiality.

My other letters will inform you of our situation here. I think it my duty to speak the truth, and without disguise ; it belongs to you to judge what is fit to be done in this most critical conjuncture. Wishing you health and many years to enjoy the glory, and to re-establish on a solid and lasting foundation the happiness, of your country, I have the honour to be, with most sincere respect and affection, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and most
obedient and humble servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, January 15, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

You do me a great deal of honour in sending for my perusal the draughts of instructions for the Earl of Kinnoul.⁽¹⁾ I should have given you no trouble but by returning them, had you not required me to transmit to you any observation that might occur to me. These draughts are, in my humble opinion, very judiciously adapted to the occasions of his lordship's mission; and there is but one observation which occurs to me: that arises upon the distinction, allowed by many of the best writers on the laws of nations, between the beginning of an aggression against an enemy, or continuing a mere chace within the territory of a neutral friend; and continuing the pursuit of a flying enemy, after a battle fairly begun, and carried on in the open sea, even within gunshot of the forts, or to the entrance of the port of a neutral friend.

That you may see how far this is allowed, I have (to save you the trouble of looking for it in

⁽¹⁾ Thomas, eighth earl of Kinnoul, and second Lord Hay. See vol. i. p. 161, note. He had been recently appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Portugal, to remove the misunderstanding which had arisen between the two crowns, in consequence of admiral Boscawen's squadron having attacked and destroyed some French ships under the Portuguese fort, in the bay of Lagoa.

your library) sent herewith Bynkershoek's "*Quæstiones Juris Publici*," which is a book of the best authority. This distinction is laid down and argued, lib. i. cap. 8. ; and I have inserted a paper at the place.

I apprehend that the intent of this extraordinary embassy is to prevent any dispute, and therefore do not mean to suggest any thing that may raise one. I would only submit to your better consideration, whether it may not be advisable to insert some saving words, that may avoid any prejudice being inferred from this instance to other cases that may happen.

Permit me only to add, that I beg pardon for this freedom, which your commands have drawn from me ; and that I am always, with the greatest respect and truth, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

HARDWICKE.

THE EARL OF KINNOUL TO MR. PITT.

Whitehall, January 25, 1760.

SIR,

If I had not been obliged to go to the duchy court⁽¹⁾ this morning, I should have attended you

⁽¹⁾ The earl was at this time chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

to have acquainted you, that I had received a letter from my brother ⁽¹⁾ at Lisbon, dated the 4th of January. There is nothing very material in the letter; but in the account he gives me of the foreign ministers residing there, he mentions that the French ambassador is tired of the country, and somewhat disgusted. He desires that I may be prepared with instructions with respect to my behaviour, in case he should endeavour to interfere with me in point of rank when we meet at court.

I have taken the liberty to send you the draught of a speech to be made to the King of Portugal, conformable to the instructions; and a translation of it in French, which is the language in which I shall deliver it; and also the draught of a memorial relating to the institution of the wine company; the introduction to which I have endeavoured to make conformable to the instruction upon that point. I beg the favour of you, that you will be so good as to peruse and correct these pieces.

The heads of the conversation to be had with the Portuguese ministers upon the affair off Lagos before my audience are upon so delicate a subject, that I hope you will honour me with your thoughts and directions upon them, and upon the quære at the end. Nothing can be so satisfactory to me as to have your commands upon every subject as far as it is possible, before I go; and it shall be my

(1) The hon. Edward Hay, at this time ambassador to the court of Portugal, and afterwards governor of Barbadoes. He died in 1780.

endeavour to conform to them. I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient and
most obliged servant,
KINNOUL. (1)

LORD GEORGE BEAUCLERK (*) TO MR. PITT.

Edinburgh, January 29, 1760.

SIR,

CONTRIBUTIONS for the French prisoners have prevailed, and been carried on successfully in this country. Without my knowledge or asking my consent, different advertisements, representing their situation in a false light, were put into the public papers. These having had their effect, several applications were made to me, desiring the collectors of this supposed charity might have access to the prisoners, in order to distribute the money and necessaries put into their hands.

I was glad to be confirmed in the opposition I

(1) "The earl of Kinnoul," says Smollett, "made such excuses for the conduct of Admiral Boscawen, as entirely removed all the misunderstanding between the two crowns; and could not fail of being agreeable to the Portuguese monarch, thus respected, soothed, and deprecated by a mighty nation, in the very zenith of power and prosperity."

(2) Sixth son of Charles, first duke of St. Albans. In 1758, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and made commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. He died in 1768

gave to these solicitations by the opinion of several persons of distinguished rank and character, and have hitherto persisted in my refusal ; having always thought that the government allowance was very sufficient for their maintenance, and that ill-judged donations of this kind might more and more put it in their power to contrive ways and means for effecting their escape ; which, even without such aids, they have frequently attempted.

I have been told, but not from such authority as is to be depended upon, that you, Sir, have expressed yourself as having no dislike to the intention of the contributors, and, of course, none that the money or apparel should be distributed amongst the prisoners. It is this I wish to have the honour of being informed of ; as I shall most readily embrace every opportunity of closing with all such measures as may meet with your approbation. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,
G. BEAUCLERK.

MR. PITT TO LORD GEORGE BEAUCLERK.

Whitehall, February 20, 1760.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been favoured with your Lordship's letter of the 29th past, on the subject of contributions in Scotland for the French prisoners. I am very

much obliged to your Lordship for the honour you do me in the expression of your inclination of closing with such measures as may meet with my approbation ; but whatever my opinion, as a private person, may be of this charity⁽¹⁾, designed for the French prisoners, I must, in the present case, beg leave to wave setting it in competition with any objections that may occur to your Lordship, or other persons of rank and character in Scotland, with regard to the expediency of allowing any such contributions to be distributed to the French prisoners there ; and as your Lordship is of opinion, “ that ill-judged donations of this kind might, more and more, put it in the power of the prisoners to contrive ways and means for effecting their escape, which even, without such aids, they have frequently attempted,” your Lordship will, doubtless, in case any difficulties should arise on this occasion, think it proper to lay the same before the secretary

(1) “ The French ministry,” says Smollett, “ had withdrawn the usual allowance from their subjects who were detained prisoners in England, and those wretched creatures, amounting to nearly twenty thousand, were left to the mercy of their enemies. The allowance with which they were indulged by the British government effectually secured them from the horrors of famine ; but still they remained destitute of other conveniences, and particularly exposed to the miseries of cold and nakedness. The generous English beheld these forlorn captives with sentiments of sympathy and compassion : they considered them as their fellow-creatures and brethren in humanity, and forgot their country while they beheld their distress. A considerable subscription was raised in their behalf ; and, in a few weeks, they were completely clothed by the charity of their British benefactors.”

of state, with whom your Lordship is in correspondence as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland. I am, &c.

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Madrid, February 11, 1760.

SIR,

GENERAL WALL has earnestly desired me, in my private letter to you, to assure you how mortified he is to perceive the great distrust, with regard to the Spanish court, which M. d'Abreu in his despatches has represented even the King to be in⁽¹⁾; and as he knows I now send a messenger, he has given me leave to tell you, that nothing can or shall ever let him act contrary to what he looks upon to be the real interest of Spain, which is to live in perfect harmony and a close union with England; that he perceives the Catholic King is really hurt with the want of confidence in him, which M. d'Abreu represents to be the case at his Majesty's court; and that after all the professions and proofs I have given of the King's confidence in the Spanish monarch, which the general has faithfully and repeatedly conveyed to the Catholic King. What must be thought of M. d'Abreu and myself

(¹) See, on this subject, M. d'Abreu's letter to Mr. Pitt, of the 11th September, 1759, vol. i. p. 350.

holding such different language? If you have recourse, Sir, to some of my early despatches after my arrival here, you will there find what is now too much verified, that I scarce flattered myself with gaining the ground I expected at Madrid, till the Marquis d'Abreu was removed. Believe me, with the highest esteem and most sincere respect,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, March 1, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I HOPE to hear you have had a good night, and find yourself much better this morning. Every body attended the council last night but my Lord Temple, whom my Lord Holderness *forgot* to summon. I was extremely sorry for it, for indeed we wanted him. I wonder such unlucky omissions are not avoided. I opened the business with as much strength as I could, in every part; and insisted that the reference should be immediately made to the Judges; and I wished the answer might be returned by such of them as were, or should be, in town. My Lord President⁽¹⁾, with great vehemence, opposed the whole; insisted that it was wrong to

(1) The Earl of Granville.

grant a court-martial ; that Lord George ⁽¹⁾ was not triable by a court-martial ; that the Judges had nothing to do with it ; and that it was wronger still to refer it to them ; and insisted that his dissent to the whole might be entered in the minute, as it is.

I obeyed your command, in acquainting the Lords with your opinion. I was strongly supported in every thing by my Lord Hardwicke ⁽²⁾ ; who thought the reference extremely proper in a case of this nature, relating to the jurisdiction of an inferior court. Lord Mansfield concurred ; but being a judge, desired his name might not be inserted. We agreed unanimously (except my Lord President), that the first question, viz. about the jurisdiction of the court, should be referred immediately to the Judges ; and my Lord Keeper ⁽³⁾ is to receive the King's orders for it this morning, and send them this day, at noon, to the Judges.

As to the second question, relating to the punishment which the court could inflict, it was unanimously agreed, that it would be highly improper to refer *that* to the Judges ; as that was, indeed,

⁽¹⁾ Lord George Sackville, having demanded a court-martial on his conduct at the battle of Minden, was, on the 23d of January, acquainted that he should have one. It met on the 29th of February ; but the trial was postponed, as the court was desirous of having the opinion of the Judges, whether a man no longer in the army was subject to martial law.

⁽²⁾ Ex-chancellor ; who, although no longer in office, continued to give his assistance.

⁽³⁾ Sir Robert Henley, afterwards Lord Northampton.

desiring to know of them what the court was to do, which depended upon themselves. I urged the necessity of having a speedy answer from the Judges, but I feared they would not return any till the whole number was here. Some are already gone, most go on Monday, and my Lord Keeper and my Lord Hardwicke said it was impossible now to appoint serjeants, as all the commissions were made out, and the returns made to them. To supply as well as we could the inconveniences of a delay, we directed the Judge-Advocate to propose to the court to proceed immediately to take all the evidence and examine all the witnesses, whereby the facts would be stated and proved, and nothing left but giving sentence ; which, if they thought proper, they might delay till the answer came from the Judges, and the officers (the witnesses) be discharged, and return forthwith to Germany. This was all that seemed practicable in the present case. All the lords, except my Lord President, were greatly surprised at the conduct of the court-martial.

I am always, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE. (1)

(1) Ten of the Judges (Bathurst and Clive being absent on the circuit) gave their opinion, that Lord George might be tried ; but reserved to themselves a further consideration, if any appeal should be made from the sentence. The trial recommenced on the 7th of March, and lasted till the 3d of April. The court pronounced Lord George guilty of having disobeyed Prince Ferdinand's orders, and declared him unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever. The King struck

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

St. James's, Thursday, 3 o'clock.
March 13, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I SHOULD wait upon you now, but I am just setting out for Claremont, and indeed have nothing more to trouble you with than what is contained in the enclosed papers. I spoke to the Prussian ministers in the sense, and indeed almost in the words made use of by you, and enforced it in the best manner I could. They were a little out of humour at first ; would not imagine that the French court did not equally mean to include the King of Prussia in their treaty with us ; and finding them in that way, I put down the inclosed minute, read it to them, and Knyphausen corrected it himself. He afterwards read to me a long letter from the King of Prussia, inclosing one from Voltaire to his Prussian majesty, of which he gave me the

his name out of the council-book, and forbid his appearance at court. " Lord George's behaviour during the whole process was," says Walpole, " most extraordinary : he assumed a dictatorial style to the court, and treated the inferiority of their capacities as he would have done if sitting amongst them : he brow-beat the witnesses, gave the lie to Sloper, and used the judge-advocate, though a very clever man, with contempt. Nothing was timid, nothing humble, in his behaviour : his replies were quick and spirited ; he prescribed to the court, and they acquiesced. An instant of such resolution at Minden had established his character for ever."

inclosed copy. The other part of the King of Prussia's letter related to an offer made by the Great Duke's minister at Hamburgh to Prince Henry of Prussia, by the canal of one M. Bielfield⁽¹⁾, to send Pechlin to Petersburg, with a million of crowns, to negotiate for the King of Prussia at that court; and, upon an assurance that the Great Duke would himself be a *négociateur pour le Roi de Prusse*, Pechlin is gone, and (as I understand) with the million of crowns.⁽²⁾ Knyphausen lays

(1) "Baron Bielfield," says Mr. Mitchell, in a letter to Mr. Keith, the British minister at St. Petersburg, "is the son of a Hamburgh merchant, was created baron by the King of Prussia, and was preceptor to Prince Henry and Prince Ferdinand of Prussia. I hear he is an honest man and a speculative politician, having lately published two volumes in quarto upon that subject—which I have not read." Besides his "*Institutions Politiques*," the baron wrote "*Progrès des Allemands dans les Belles Lettres*," "*Lettres Familières*," and "*Erudition Universelle*." Of the two last there are English translations. He died in 1770.

(2) The following extracts from the Mitchell MSS. throw considerable light on this extraordinary mission:—

Mr. Mitchell to Mr. Keith, Friburg, March 6:—"It has been suggested to the King of Prussia, that the court of Petersburg is certainly to be bought; that the Great Duke is well disposed, and can be useful; that a million of crowns will be necessary for this service; and that the English minister at St. Petersburg is so narrowly watched, that he cannot act in that affair without raising suspicions: to avoid which, it is proposed to send Colonel Pechlin (formerly an officer in the Great Duke's service, and still much connected with that prince), to Petersburg, upon pretence of soliciting an employment for himself.

"This gentleman, besides the connection he has with the Great Duke, is well acquainted with the court of Russia, and it is thought may be of service. His Prussian Majesty is therefore willing to give a valuable gratification to Colonel Pechlin

a great stress upon these two events, particularly Voltaire's letter, with his word *employé*. I hope at my return to find you perfectly recovered in health and strength ; and am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

for his trouble ; but as he does not think it safe to trust him with the disposal of one million of crowns, it is proposed to put the money entirely under your direction ; that is to say, that Pechlin should have no power to dispose of any sum, without your previous approbation.

“ As the King of Prussia's intention is not to throw away this very large sum in bribing of low or insignificant people, you will refuse your concurrence if Pechlin should adopt a plan of this sort ; but if you think that the court of Russia can be really gained, and effectually reconciled to Prussia, his Prussian Majesty at present seems willing to bestow the whole sum. In return for this mark of confidence on the part of his Prussian Majesty, it is expected that you will be particularly attentive to all the motions and operations of Pechlin, and that you will write freely and frequently your opinion as to his capacity and conduct.”

Mr. Mitchell to Lord Holderness, March 19 : — “ Colonel Pechlin, I hear, by this time is set out for Petersburg, by the way of Sweden, and it is reckoned he may be there in about four weeks hence. I cannot help saying, that I look upon the whole affair as a wild scheme of a needy projector, who wants to go to Petersburg at the expense of his Prussian Majesty.” — July 25 : “ Mr. Keith writes me, that he never saw M. Pechlin but twice ; that he had very little conversation with him, and that Pechlin gave for the reasons of his sudden departure, that the people of Petersburg were very intriguing and full of suspicions, as well with regard to his arrival as to his stay. Mr. Keith is of opinion that, at this juncture, nothing could be done ; and has therefore desired that the credit furnished him upon Amsterdam may be withdrawn, as there is no probability at present of his being able to make use of it for the purposes for which it was lodged.”

[Enclosure.]

MINUTE WITH THE PRUSSIAN MINISTERS.

March 13, 1760.

THE Prussian ministers declare that the King, their master, desires that a separate negotiation between his Majesty and the court of France may be entered into; on the supposition, however, that the King, their master, shall be included in the separate peace to be made with France; but if his Prussian Majesty shall not be so comprehended, they shall then think any such separate treaty a contravention of the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia: and they are firmly of opinion, that by what M. d’Affry has said to M. de Hellen, particularly “*vous y trouverez votre compte,*” the court of France understands it in that sense; and they propose, “que M. Yorke soit autorisé à continuer les pourparlers avec M. d’Affry, de la manière qu’on jugera être la plus convenable: bien entendu que la base de toutes ces démarches sera toujours fondée sur ce principe, que le Roi de Prusse doit être compris dans la négociation dont il est question.”

They gave me a copy of Voltaire’s letter. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ This copy of Voltaire’s letter to Frederick appears not to have been preserved; but in one from Mr. Mitchell to Lord Holderness, of the 31st of July, there is this passage:—“Two days ago, happening to dine with the King of Prussia alone, I took the liberty to observe, that some late letter his Prussian

The emissary of the King of Prussia is gone to Bailiff Froulay. They read me a letter containing a proposal from the minister of the Great Duke of Russia, for sending an emissary (M. Pechlin) to Petersburg; and that the Great Duke would be the negotiator for the King of Prussia. A million of

Majesty had written, which had fallen into the French minister's hands, seemed to have given great offence. His Prussian Majesty replied, 'I have wrote no letter but one to Voltaire.' I ventured to say, 'Perhaps your Majesty may have in that letter made use of some strong expressions with regard to the Duke of Choiseul:' he answered, 'No, I think I made use of this proverbial phrase, that the Duke was possessed by ten millions of Austrian devils;' that as to the rest, he had told Voltaire he would keep to his alliance with England, and that if the French had a mind for peace, they must speak out plainly; and he said that this letter to Voltaire was an answer to one he had received from him, in which Voltaire had assured him, that the French ministry were perfectly well disposed towards a peace. I think it proper to acquaint your lordship minutely with every circumstance concerning this affair, which I wish may agree with the accounts received from other parts; but I cannot help adding, that the King of Prussia's correspondence with Voltaire has, on this and on former occasions, given me some uneasiness and suspicions; for I believe the court of France make use of the artful pen of Voltaire to draw secrets from the King of Prussia; and when that prince writes as a wit to a wit, he is capable of great indiscretions. But what surprises me still more is, that whenever Voltaire's name is mentioned, his Prussian Majesty never fails to give him the epithets he may deserve: which are, '*The worst heart and greatest rascal now living*:' yet with all this he continues to correspond with him. Such, in this prince, is the lust of praise from a great and elegant writer; in which, however, he will at last be the dupe: for by what I hear of Voltaire's character, he may dissemble, but never can nor ever will forgive the King of Prussia for what has passed between them." — *Mitchell MSS.*

crowns this emissary is to have. The King of Prussia has given the money, and Pechlin is set out for Petersburg.

STANIER PORTEN, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Surrey Street, April 28, 1760.

SIR,

IN obedience to your commands, I have the honour of laying before you what I have learnt and can recollect concerning their Catholic Majesties, as also the characters of those who have accompanied them to Spain from Naples.

⁽¹⁾ The writer of this interesting picture of the court of the King of the Two Sicilies had been for some years British resident at Naples. He was the son of a London merchant; his youngest sister was the mother of Gibbon, and his eldest the 'aunt Catharine whom he describes as the affectionate guardian of his tender years, the true mother of his mind as well as of his health, "to whom," he says, "I owe the first rudiments of knowledge, the first exercise of reason, and a taste for books, which is still the pleasure and glory of my life." In 1763, Mr. Porten was made consul-general at Madrid, and in 1772 appointed under secretary of state in the foreign-office, and received the honour of knighthood. "You remember," says Gibbon, in a letter to his mother-in-law, of the 24th of May, 1774, "an agreeable woman, Miss Wiebault; the under secretary is seriously in love with her, and seriously uneasy that his precarious situation precludes him from happiness: we shall soon see which will get the better, love or reason; I bet three to two on love." A few days after the date of this letter, Sir Stanier was appointed keeper of the state-papers at Whitehall, and in December he married the lady alluded to. He died in 1789, leaving two daughters; whom Gibbon, by his last will, constituted his heirs.

The King ⁽¹⁾ has strong natural parts, which doubtless might have been greatly improved, had he not been kept in such a remarkable subjection during his youth, under the care of the Duke of Santo Stefano, who governed him with the utmost severity, till some few months after his marriage in 1739 ; since which time he has constantly allotted several hours, morning and evening, to despatch of business in the respective councils with his several ministers. He is universally acknowledged to be possessed with high sentiments of justice and humanity. He has, with great assiduity, applied himself to extirpate robbers and murderers, who abounded in the country ; and of late years few accidents have happened, even in the remotest provinces.

He has attained a perfect knowledge of all the fabrics and manufactures at Naples, of which he frequently talked, and gave circumstantial details during his dinner. He is extremely reserved ; and it is very difficult for those who even constantly attend him to penetrate his intentions, which he conceals with art, and perhaps sometimes with a certain degree of dissimulation ; but he is firm to a

⁽¹⁾ Upon the death of Ferdinand VI., without issue, in August 1759, his brother Don Carlos, King of Naples, succeeded to the crown of Spain. Before he embarked for his kingdom, setting aside the right of primogeniture, he removed, by an act of abdication, his second son Don Philip (who, at the age of thirteen, had been found in a state of incurable idiotcy) from the succession, and settled the crown of the Two Sicilies in favour of his third son, Don Ferdinand. Having taken this precaution, he embarked for Spain, and reached Madrid in October.

degree, whenever he has once taken a determinate resolution. He is of a robust constitution, so extremely regular in his diet that it has been observed he ate and drank almost the same quantity every day both in winter and summer. He is exact to a moment in all his actions; and such a constant uniformity was there in every thing he did, that let the weather be as it might, he alighted always from his coach to make water at a particular tree near Caserta. He used to rise early both in winter and summer. As soon as he came out of his bed-chamber he went to chapel, then drank chocolate, afterwards to council, and then abroad either to shoot or fish. He constantly dined in public at twelve o' clock, and soon after dinner went again to one of those diversions. He minded neither heat, cold, or rain: the weather seldom hindered his going abroad twice every day. In the evening, he again went to confer with his ministers, who had all their separate days; then he supped, and at ten every night in bed. From these rules he hardly ever varied at Naples. He has ever been an affectionate husband, and tender parent to all his children; and it is generally believed he never knew any woman except the Queen. He loves splendour, magnificence, and to see a brilliant court; but he used to wear himself a frock and close sleeve, except on days of functions, and especially on the Queen's birth-day and saints' days, when his Majesty was very richly dressed, and all

the nobility, corps of officers, judges, chief lawyers, &c. kissed his hands; but as soon as that ceremony was over, the King retired to put on his frock, and he generally gave his rich suit to some poor nobleman of the court, ordering beforehand the suit to be made according to the size of the person it was destined for; so that sometimes the clothes appeared much too long, at other times too short, for his Majesty. (1) He has a great passion for building, of which the new palace at Caserta is a strong proof; besides his other palaces at Portici, Capo di Monte, and Persano. None of them are yet finished. He is also particularly fond of the china manufacture at Capo di Monte. During a fair held annually in the square before his palace at Naples, there is a shop solely for the sale of part of this china; and a note was daily brought to the King of what was there sold, together with the names of those who bought; and it is said, he looked

(1) The following description of Don Carlos's person and habits, shortly after his accession to the throne of Spain, is by Mr. Clarke, chaplain to the British embassy: — "The King is in person tall, round-shouldered, big-boned, small-eyed, and has a large prominent nose. His dress is as plain as possible; too homely for a prince. He commonly wears a plain cloth frock, a leather waistcoat, leather breeches, boots, a large pair of tanned gloves, and usually carries a gun upon his shoulder. He rises at seven, opens his own shutters, writes what letters and despatches he has to do, and then sets out, let it rain or shine, for the chase, or rather shooting. It is his constant maxim, that rain breaks no bones. He is an exceeding good turner, and has made a multitude of things in the wooden-ware way. He told the foreign ministers the other day, that he had made a pair of shoes."

often favourably on the persons who made any purchase.

His annual revenues from the Two Sicilies were calculated at about a million and half sterling; with which he was to pay his household, pensions, considerable charges of building, and diversions in the country, together with his army and small naval force. The latter consisted of four ships, from sixty to twenty guns, four galleys, four galliots, and six xebèques: his army, of about fifty thousand men; composed of four regiments of Swiss, four of Walloons, one of Irish, and the rest Italians, including the provincial regiments, which, by agreement, are never to march out of the kingdom. The number of soldiers is generally complete according to the regulation of thirty-six men for every company of infantry; but, in order to economise, the number of officers has been very small since the last war in Italy, and from twelve to twenty officers in every regiment wanting to complete the full number. The King has often attempted, and in part succeeded, to reduce the power and diminish the riches of the clergy. He has publicly declared that they possessed half the riches of Naples and Sicily; but that it was not yet in his power to put the ecclesiastical affairs on a proper footing for the rest of his subjects. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ Lord Holland, in remarking upon the undue severity with which Charles III. is treated by Walpole, in his *Memoirs of George II.*, says:—"Probity, justice, consistency, and humanity were among his virtues. On his accession to the crown of Spain, he submitted to great inconvenience, from a principle of

The Queen ⁽¹⁾ has many valuable qualities, but often expressed too much vivacity towards those attending her person. She is very fond of music, but never went to the operas above twice a year, because the King had no relish for that entertainment. It was thought her Majesty had a great share in domestic transactions, and affairs of the household. The situation of her parents affected her very much; and all the money she had collected in her own private purse — from the produce of two lotteries or *beneficiate* every year, and from little negotiations in trade, which her ministers always took care to render, or make appear, advantageous — she sent to Poland for her parents' use; which I have heard might amount to about 150,000*l.* sterling. Whenever any news arrived at Naples in favour of the Saxons and their allies, the Queen used publicly to express her joy; but those at court who were well acquainted with the King's inward sentiments and dispositions, always avoided speaking on those occasions.

These circumstances I have had from persons

honesty; he deemed it wrong to divert any portion of the treasure of Naples from the service of that kingdom; and he adhered so religiously to his scruple, that he not only left the public funds untouched, but divested himself of all private wealth, even to pictures, gems, and rings; considering them as the property of the people, whose resources had enabled him to purchase them."

(¹) Maria Amelia Christina, daughter of Augustus II., king of Poland. She was born in 1724, and died at Madrid in September, 1760.

of different ranks, whom I had daily occasion of conversing with at Naples; where the English have been well treated in their private situation, and frequently experienced a preference to other nations. It used to be generally thought that the King himself was the least attached of any of his family to the French interest, and much less so, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, knowing that it concerned them more than any power to pursue its execution; nor will his Majesty easily forget their proposal some years ago for permitting a French garrison to be introduced into his two principal fortified towns of Capua and Gaeta, in order to secure the eventual succession for Don Philip. He was therefore fearful of the French, and knew what he had to apprehend from them, till now that they are so little able to molest others; and perhaps they may think differently, since the death of the Duchess of Parma, in regard to Italy. The King has ever had at heart the favourite system of securing his Italian dominions for his own descendants; and has often declared, it was of more moment to him than even his succession to the Spanish monarchy.

The principal attendants on their Majesties from Naples, were the Duke of Losada (more known under the name of Duke Miranda), the Marquis Squillace, and the Castropignano family.

The Duke of Losada attended his Majesty at his first departure from Spain, and ever accompanied the King whenever he went abroad, and at home

keeping almost constantly about his person. It has been thought that the King disclosed more of his inward thoughts and sentiments to the duke than to any other person whatsoever. The duke is a true Spaniard, and was never thought to be in the French interest.

Don Leopoldo di Gregorio, Marquis Squillace, was born at Genoa. His father, a Genoese, had lived long in Sicily, where he was commissary to the Austrian troops, but afterwards had a *procès* at Vienna for his ill conduct, and was obliged to refund the greater part of what he had acquired in that employment. Marquis Squillace was sent young from Genoa to Messina, where he inherited a very small estate, and married a Messinese lady. He had some employments in that city; and has, more than once, been one of the noble consuls for commerce. At the beginning of the last war in Italy, Duke Barretta of Naples was made commissary to the Spanish and Neapolitan troops; and he, being acquainted with the then Don Leopoldo di Gregorio, invited him to Naples, to take upon himself the administration of this employment, under him the Duke Barretta, who soon after retired from it himself, and left the other to be the sole director and manager. Marquis Squillace executed this office with great honour and applause, and at the end of the war he went to Madrid to render an account of his administration; when, on the examination of his accounts, he was paid to the last farthing, without any deduction, and even ob-

tained a considerable present for himself; besides which, the court of Spain recommended him in the strongest manner to that of Naples.

His first wife being dead, he married, at Madrid, a Spanish lady; and on his return to Naples, the King made him intendant-general of the customs, in which office he gave particular satisfaction to his Majesty, who some years ago advanced him to be secretary of state for the finances, war, and marine; in all which offices he has been indefatigable. He has succeeded in putting almost an entire stop to contrabands in the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and on that account has frequently exposed his life to the fury of the natives. He had, by his first wife, four sons and a daughter. The sons are very well provided for: the daughter, many years ago, was taken by the Tripolines, carried to Tripoly, and ransomed at the expense of the city of Messina, by a general collection; to all whose inhabitants, and to all those he knew there, he has preserved a great regard. His nephew, Don Geronimo Gongona, a Messinese, is gone with him to Spain; who would never accept of an employment, on account of his ill-health.

The Castropignano family have been always publicly in the French interest. The late duke, who was captain-general at Naples and died there about two years ago, was formerly Neapolitan ambassador at Paris; and it has been publicly reported that the French court has ever since given them a salary. The duchess has always been

in high favour with the Queen ; and is now gone with her son, the young duke, to Spain.⁽¹⁾

In regard to the Marquis Don Bernardo Tenucci at Naples, he is a native of Pisa : he is not of a noble family, but a great scholar, and very eminent in the law ; which was his profession at Pisa. He accompanied the King from thence to Naples ; where, soon after his arrival, he was made segretario di grazia and giustizia ; in which employment he continued till the Marquis Fogliani was nominated viceroy of Sicily : after which, Marquis Tenucci had the additional employment of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and for regulating the King's household. He is the most upright, disinterested minister that was ever known in Italy ; indefatigable, a strenuous promoter of royal authority, and ever considered a great enemy to the House of Austria.⁽²⁾

I hope you will not think that, in obeying your commands, I have been triflingly exact. I thought it a duty rather to enter into minute particulars than to be considered wanting. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most faithful and

most devoted humble servant,

STANIER PORTEN.

(¹) Mr. Clarke says, that the Queen was entirely governed by the duchess, who had gained a most unaccountable ascendancy over her.

(²) Before Don Carlos left Naples for Spain, he appointed the marquis guardian of his son, and placed him at the head of the regency of the Two Sicilies.

MAJOR BARRÉ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

New York, April 28, 1760.

SIR,

IF I presume to address myself to the first minister of my country, it is under the sanction of a name which is still grateful to his ear. General Wolfe fell, in the arms of victory, on the plain of Abraham. I received near his person a very dangerous wound⁽²⁾, and, by the neglect I have since met with, I am apprehensive that my pretensions are to be buried with my only protector and friend. The packets bring no directions concerning me; so that I remain as adjutant-general with General Amherst, by his desire; though with a very bad prospect of ever being taken notice of.

From power I have not interest enough to ask favour; but, unless the discernment of my late general be much called in question, I may claim

(¹) Isaac Barré was a native of Dublin, and born of humble parents about the year 1726. He entered the army at an early age, and rose gradually to the rank of colonel. Through the interest of the Earl of Shelburne, he obtained, in December 1761, a seat in parliament, for the borough of Chipping Wycombe; where, acting in opposition to government, he was not only deprived of his offices of adjutant-general and governor of Stirling Castle, but dismissed from the service. During the Rockingham administration, he was compensated for the loss he had sustained, by a pension of 3,200*l.* per annum; which he relinquished on obtaining the clerkship of the pells. He died in 1802, in his seventy-sixth year.

(²) In West's celebrated picture of the death of Wolfe, Barré is represented as one of a group of officers collected round the expiring general.

some title to justice. If my demands appear reasonable, an application to Mr. Pitt cannot be charged with great impropriety.

For want of friends, I had lingered a subaltern officer eleven years, when Mr. Wolfe's opinion of me rescued me from that obscurity. I attended him as major of brigade to the siege of Louisburg, in which campaign my zeal for the service confirmed him my friend, and gained the approbation of General Amherst. When the expedition to Canada was determined upon, General Wolfe got his Majesty's permission to name me his adjutant-general. Upon this occasion, I only got the rank of major in America, and captain in the army; my being still a subaltern was the reason assigned for such moderate honours. Thus my misfortune was imputed to me as a fault, and though thought worthy of that high employment, the rank of lieutenant-colonel (so necessary to add weight to it) was refused, although generally given in like cases, and in some instances to younger officers.

My conduct in that station was so highly approved of by the general, that when the success of the campaign seemed doubtful, he regretted his want of power to serve me, and only wished with impatience for an opportunity to make me the messenger of agreeable news. This last honour the battle of Quebec deprived me of.⁽¹⁾ After the defeat of his Majesty's enemies, the trophies I can boast

⁽¹⁾ In the following September, Barré was the bearer of the despatches announcing the surrender of Montreal.

only indicate how much I suffered; my zealous and sole advocate killed, my left eye rendered useless, and the ball still in my head.⁽¹⁾

The presumption in appealing to you, I hope will be pardoned, when I affirm that I am almost utterly unknown to the secretary at war. Besides, sir, I confess it would be the most flattering circumstance of my life to owe my preferment to that minister who honoured my late general with so important a command, and which I had the pleasure of seeing executed with satisfaction to my King and country. I have the honour to be, with the most profound respect, Sir,

Your most devoted humble servant,

ISAAC BARRÉ. ⁽²⁾

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Meissen, May 22, 1760.

SIR,

His Prussian Majesty having been pleased to make me a present of three copies of his *Poésies Diverses*, I take the liberty to desire the favour of your acceptance of one of them, believing it most

(¹) During the last twenty years of his life, Colonel Barré was afflicted with blindness; which he is said to have borne with much cheerful resignation.

(²) This application was refused by Mr. Pitt, on the ground that senior officers would be injured by the promotion; and Barré, in a letter of the 8th of October expressed himself "bound in the highest gratitude" for the attention he had received. How he discharged the debt, on taking his seat in parliament in the following year, will be seen in a subsequent note.

agreeable to the intention of the royal author, that his work should come into the hands of his best friends, in order to destroy the impression which a false edition of the same book, published some months ago, may have made upon the public.(¹) I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
ANDREW MITCHELL.

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

'A Wavern, ce 23 de Mai, 1760.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI eu la satisfaction de recevoir la lettre que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire en date du 6^e.(²) Cela a été une surprise bien agréable, que celle de la nouvelle du renfort que vous m'annoncez.(³) Moins je comptois sur ce secours,

(¹) In a letter to Lord Holderness, of the 16th of March, Mr. Mitchell says :—" I hear there has been lately surreptitiously printed at Amsterdam a book, of which your Lordship may be curious to have a copy, as it is the King of Prussia's writing. The copies have been seized at Amsterdam by order, but one bale is sent over to Scheyfert, a bookseller in London. Voltaire and others, that had copies from the King of Prussia, are suspected of this infidelity. The title is 'Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans Souci à Potzdam.'" — *Mitchell MSS.*

(²) On this day Prince Ferdinand, by his proxy sir Charles Cottrell Dormer, and likewise the marquis of Rockingham and earl Temple, had been installed knights of the garter at Windsor.

(³) On the 15th of the month, six regiments of foot, com-

plus j'en suis charmé, et plus je souhaite de le rendre aussi utile que possible à la bonne cause. Si l'impression qu'il a fait sur l'esprit de tout le monde peut être acceptée comme un augure de l'avenir, je n'en puis pas désirer des meilleurs, ni m'empêcher de concevoir de bonnes espérances.

Je suis inviolablement avec cette parfaite et haute considération, que vous me connoissez pour vous, Monsieur, de votre Excellence,

Le très humble

et très obéissant serviteur,

FERDINAND DUC DE BRUNSWIC
ET DE LÜNEBOURG.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

Friday morning, [June —, 1760.]

JOIN, my love, with me in most humble and grateful thanks to the Almighty. The siege of Quebec was raised on the 17th of May, with every happy circumstance. The enemy left their camp standing, abandoned forty pieces of cannon, &c. Swanton arrived there in the Vanguard on the 15th, and destroyed all the French shipping; six or seven in number. Happy, happy day! My joy and hurry are inexpressible.

W. PITT.

manded by major-general Griffin, had sailed to join the Prince. Elliot's regiment of light horse soon followed them. At the opening of the campaign, the British army in Germany amounted to twenty-two thousand men.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Kensington, Tuesday, past two.
[June 3, 1760.]

DEAR SIR,

I HOPE I have obeyed all your commands to your satisfaction. I was last night above an hour with the Spanish ambassador⁽¹⁾ and the ambassadress. I like them both very well. They seem mighty good humoured, and extremely well disposed.⁽²⁾ I had nothing but general discourse, and general professions of good intentions ; which were as strong, and seemingly as sincere, as possible.

The ambassador did very well in his audience, as far as I could hear ; but he spoke his speech so very low, that neither the King nor I could hear it. I think there was something that tended to his master's desire to promote peace ; but my hearing of it was so imperfect, and the King heard nothing relative to it, that I may very well mistake.

(1) The Count de Fuentes.

(2) In describing a ball given by Miss Chudleigh, on the 4th of June, the Prince of Wales's birth-day, Horace Walpole says : —“ The new Spanish embassy was there. M. de Fuentes is a halfpenny print of Lord H * * * ; his wife homely, but seems good-humoured and civil ; the son does not degenerate from such high-born ugliness. They seem to have no curiosity, sit where they are placed, and ask no questions about so strange a country.” Indeed, the ambassadress could see nothing ; for Dodington stood before her the whole time, sweating Spanish at her ; of which it was evident, by her civil nods without answers, she did not understand a word. She speaks bad French, danced a bad minuet, and went away.”

His own professions I heard ; they were so strong, that he said he had the King's interest as much at heart as his own master's. The King outdid himself, both with regard to the King of Spain, and to his ambassador. His Majesty expressed his desire to cultivate that intimate relation with Spain, which *had been*, and ought always to be, and his knowledge of, and dependance upon, the ambassador's good intentions.

His Majesty ordered me afterwards to see how the ambassador was pleased with him. To the highest degree ; he said he was confounded with the King's goodness ; that he should be a faithful reporter, *jusqu' à la moindre syllabe*. I gave him a hint not to mind what might be intimated, and begged he would rely only upon what the King and his ministers said to him. He seemed to understand me, and to answer very properly.

D'Abreu had also his audience, in which the King behaved as well, — with great dignity, firmness, and politeness ; — and thus ends my *secrétariat* ⁽¹⁾, except when *you* have any commands for me. His Majesty inquired very kindly after you. I told him you were better, and I hope you continue to mend.

I am, dear Sir,
ever most sincerely yours,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

(1) During the temporary absence of the Earl of Holderness from London.

ARTHUR VILLETES, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

(*Very secret.*)

Berne, June 29, 1760.

SIR,

I HAVE been absent from home eight days, having been invited to meet an uncle of my wife's at a house of his on the borders of the lake of Geneva, that we might confer together on a subject which he hinted to me was of the greatest consequence, and by no means to be trusted to the ordinary post. This gentleman, Mr. Jasper Sellon, has lived thirty years in England, and most part of that time in the greatest intimacy with the late Sir Luke Schaub, and having acquired no inconsiderable fortune in trade, he is of late years retired to Geneva, which is the place of his birth ; but he has still retained a sincere attachment to, and an honest zeal for, the interests and welfare of Great Britain.

He has a brother who has long resided at Paris, and who, besides the private concerns of his own, which he manages there, is employed in a public character, as the republic of Geneva's minister to the court of France. In this station he has acquired no small degree of esteem and confidence with the Duke of Choiseul, with whom, particularly since the rumours of a peace, that have been the general topic of discourse for some

⁽¹⁾ British minister to the Swiss cantons. The original of this letter is in cipher.

months past, he has had several long and unreserved conversations on this interesting subject. In these the French minister has not scrupled to own to M. Sellon, that the French King, and those of his council, were thoroughly convinced of the absolute necessity of this measure, and as earnestly desirous that some method might be hit upon for bringing it to bear, even, in some measure, upon such terms as the present situation of affairs seems to prescribe.

This subject has been resumed and canvassed in a more circumstantial manner, between the Duke de Choiseul and M. Sellon, within this month. The French minister observed, that in affairs of this nature, one of the principal difficulties was the first setting out; that between great princes, a delicacy and point of honour, in determining which party should make first advances, often obstructed what they both had equally at heart; that this was the case at present, as he had good reason to believe England was as well and as sincerely inclined to peace, as he (M. Sellon) must have observed they were desirous of it in France: that the treating it in the usual way of a formal negotiation, and by means of a minister in a public character, would be liable to many and the greatest inconveniences, such as must infinitely protract the conclusion so much to be wished, if it did not in the end even overturn the design itself: that this being the case, the main point, in his opinion, would be to find out a person for this delicate commission,

who might by his circumstances be deemed neutral and disinterested, and whose affection might be in some measure so equipoised between the contending parties, as to be obnoxious to neither, as being influenced by no other motive but an honest desire to be instrumental in procuring so great a public benefit.

This basis having been often insisted on, the Duke de Choiseul at last opened himself fully, by acquainting M. Sellon, that the French king had pitched upon him for this task, and that he was ordered to break the thing to him, and to dispose him, if possible, to undertake it. To this M. Sellon made several objections, by way of excusing himself, both from the multiplicity and importance of the private affairs he is engaged in and that require his continual presence, and from his being charged with a public commission from the republic of Geneva, which made it necessary to obtain the consent and a formal leave from that state to be absent from his post. But both these reasons being over-ruled by the French minister, he alleged that he could not charge himself with this commission without consulting his eldest brother ; which the duke having consented to, an account of the whole matter, with a plan of the manner in which it was proposed to proceed, was transmitted to Geneva.

Upon examining the same, M. Sellon the elder objected to several parts of it, and in his answer entreated his brother, and insisted, that he would

not undertake this commission, unless you were previously consulted, your sentiments thereon well known, and your approbation of, and concurrence in, the method proposed was first obtained and secured, it being impossible to succeed otherwise (and unless the interviews between you and the person employed were left entirely to your discretion): that the business could not be carried on with that mystery, which was so essential for bringing it to a good issue. This, he observed, might easily be effected by my means, by confiding the above particulars to me, and desiring me to lay the whole matter before you; which, he added, might safely be done, not only as I was their nephew by marriage and their personal and most intimate friend, whose character they were well acquainted with, but as my being a servant of his Majesty's bound me to that secrecy which they were in France so desirous of, and which it was indeed so essential should be observed.

These remarks of M. Sellon the elder having been referred to the Duke de Choiseul, he not only expressed his entire satisfaction, but greatly commended and approved them. Accordingly, M. Sellon has been allowed, and authorised from Paris, to concert these previous steps with me, and to desire I would write, without loss of time, in order to be apprised of your sentiments on this matter as soon as possible, and with a view to proceed immediately upon this plan, if (as it is hoped) it meets with your approbation.

It is proposed that M. Sellon shall go over to England, without any character, as a private man, and upon his own affairs only, but with instructions, full, precise, and a sufficient authority to conclude, if a right understanding between the parties can be established. In order thereto, I am requested to desire that a passport of yours may be sent me with your answer to this despatch, that I should add a letter of my own, to introduce M. Sellon to you, by which I recommend him to the honour of your protection, as a near relation of mine, and as one whose character and personal behaviour, during his stay in England, I dare take upon me to answer for; and lastly, that in order to his going over from Calais to Dover, an English vessel, with a flag of truce and a number of French prisoners to be exchanged against as many English, may be sent over to Calais, about fifty days after the date of this letter, and that the master of this ship may be directed in his return home to take on board a Swiss gentleman with your passport, who is at Calais, waiting for a safe conveyance to England. It may not, however, be improper to add, that as it is not impossible, from the distinguished approbation the Duke de Choiseul has given to the elder M. Sellon's plan, but he may think of employing him in this commission, in case he can be persuaded to undertake it, the passport should be drawn up in such a manner as to serve for either brother; which may easily be done by making it in the name only of *M. Sellon*

de Genève, avec deux domestiques. I will only add, with regard to both, that they are men of unexceptionable character as to honour and honesty, of an ingenuous nature, incapable of dissimulation, artifice, and still more so as to any sinister design or purpose. They have no private end of their own to serve, and are solely influenced by the laudable ambition of being instrumental in promoting the public good, and by a spirit of benevolence for human kind.

I have now, Sir, had the honour fully to lay before you the subject of my meeting with the elder M. Sellon; in which and the several particular circumstances it was necessary you should be acquainted with, I have unavoidably run into a greater length than I could have wished, which I must beg you would excuse. I am willing to hope you will be of opinion, that I could not in my station decline the offer that has been required of me on this occasion; and if so, that through your favourable representation of the matter to the King, my conduct herein will be honoured with his Majesty's most gracious approbation, which is the great and principal object of my ambition. The only inference I will presume to draw from the whole is, that by the accounts M. Sellon of Paris has given to his brother here, of whatever has passed between the Duke de Choiseul and him, which have all been communicated to me, it seems plainly the French are in earnest, and have strongly at heart to get out of the war. Whether

you will approve the method here suggested of going to work in order thereto, is what I neither could nor would take upon me to say any thing to; but this far I have not scrupled to promise, which was particularly insisted on, that in case his Majesty did not relish this expedient, the proposal itself should be buried in oblivion.

I have the honour to remain, with the greatest and unalterable respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

and most devoted humble servant,

ARTHUR VILLETES.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

July 28, 1760.

MY SWEETEST LOVE,

I HAVE but a few minutes to tell you, that the glorious event of the immortal hereditary Prince⁽¹⁾ is only known *en gros*, from his own laconic report in four lines to his uncle; but though short, it is sweet and certain: his words are, “cinque battalions, le général Daubeitz, le prince d’Anhalt-Cothen, canons, &c., tout est à nous: les Anglois on fait merveilles.” The detail he promises to Prince Ferdinand had not reached;

(1) The surprise and defeat of the French and Saxons under M. Daubitz at Ermsdorff, on the 16th of July; upon which occasion, Elliot’s corps of light horse had the greatest share of the glory, as well as sufferings, of the day. Only seventy-nine of the allies were killed in the action, but of these seventy-one were of this single regiment.

it is known, however, that the two battalions of royal Bava-rois, three d'Anhalt, et un battalion de Turpin, troupes légères, are prisoners. The hereditary Prince marched with his wound of the 10th (which was a musket shot under the shoulder) still open. He pierced five times the French infantry, at the head of Elliot's; his horse wounded under him, and a led horse behind him killed.

The King of Prussia has all at once appeared before Dresden, having returned, slipped Daun, and possessed himself of the suburbs. The place itself he was beginning to batter in breach the 18th; and it is hoped his Prussian Majesty will be master of Dresden before Daun can relieve it. The stroke is most astonishing; but, if it fails (and he has but moments to complete his work), he must be undone! (')

(') The King of Prussia commenced the siege of Dresden on the 13th of July; but M. Daun having, on the night of the 21st, succeeded in throwing sixteen battalions into the town, the King withdrew his forces from the suburbs on the following day. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written from headquarters, on the 18th of July, Mr. Mitchell, who accompanied the army, says:—"May your Grace never have an idea of what I have felt and seen these eighteen days past! The fatigue I suffer is the least part of my endurance. I fear we shall not be masters of Dresden, and the retreat will probably be dangerous: if we should, I fear we may abuse our success." And again, on the 31st:—"His Prussian Majesty sees and feels his situation, though he endeavours manfully to cover it, and to put the best face upon things that they will bear. We are now in a most critical and dangerous situation, which cannot long last. One lucky event, approaching to a miracle, may still save us; but the extreme caution of M. Daun, joined to that infinite superiority of numbers, gives but little ground to hope that such an event will happen."—*Newcastle MSS.*

I am now to impart the sad disaster of Lady Lincoln⁽¹⁾, which happened last night : she was seized with a violent cholic, went into convulsions, and expired before Lord Lincoln could arrive in town. This truly melancholy event has thrown a cloud over our joy. I grieve for poor Lord Lincoln, for the Duke of Newcastle, for a whole family that loved her. Who can be happy and not tremble ! May the Almighty preserve my love — her and hers !

Your ever loving husband,
W. PITT.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

August 17, 1760. ⁽²⁾

SIR,

ALLOW me to introduce to you M. le Baron de Coccei, captain of the King of Prussia's guards. The news he carries⁽³⁾, and the great prince he

⁽¹⁾ Catherine, eldest daughter and coheir of the right honourable Henry Pelham.

⁽²⁾ In a letter of the same date, addressed to the Countess of Holderness, Mr. Mitchell says : — " Permit me to recommend to your ladyship's particular protection, M. le Baron de Coccei, one of the ugliest fellows we have in the whole army ; but when one is acquainted with him, his conversation is agreeable and his figure forgotten."

⁽³⁾ The defeat of the Austrians near Leignitz, on the 15th of August. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, written two days after the victory, Mr. Mitchell relates the following conversation : — " The King of Prussia, when he marched his army

comes from, make all recommendation on my part superfluous; yet I cannot help telling you what I know to be true, that he is a brave, worthy, sensible man, with an honest heart, the servant of a great king, who has the highest value for you.

I am glad of every opportunity that affords me occasion to assure you of the sincere respect and affection with which I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

from the field of battle, sent for me to ride along with him. When I came up to him, and had given him joy of the victory, he was pleased to say very graciously, 'As you have shared the fatigues with me, I want you should likewise rejoice with me.' He then entered into a detail of the battle; commended highly the behaviour of his troops; and after making some excellent reflections on the imperfection of human foresight, he said, 'You see how I have laboured, to no purpose, to bring about the event that has now happened: the victory I have gained is entirely owing to the bravery of my troops. Had I remained in the camp at Leignitz, I should have been surrounded on all sides: had I arrived but a quarter of an hour sooner on the field of battle, the event would not have happened; and a few days would have put an end to the whole affair.' His Prussian Majesty then observed, 'that the chief advantages he had over the enemy were, that his army was formed before that of the enemy was quite arranged, and that, by his knowledge of the ground, he had got possession of the heights.'" In another letter to the Duke, of the 10th of November, Mr. Mitchell relates the following anecdote: — "I entirely agree with your Grace on the notions of Providence, and have had many disputes with his Prussian Majesty on that subject; the last was on the field of battle near Leignitz, when he said he owed that victory to chance. I took the liberty to reply, that it was plain to me, if Providence had not given his Majesty a better understanding than his enemies, he would not have been victorious that day: he answered, with good-humour; 'Je sais que nous ne sommes pas tout-à-fait d'accord sur ce point là, mais soit à présent, parceque vous le voulez ainsi.'" — *Newcastle MSS.*

MR. PITT TO ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ.

(*Private.*)

September 9, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT let a messenger go away without conveying some expressions, at least, of all my heart feels, on the glorious and stupendous successes with which Providence has at last crowned the heroic constancy of spirit and unexampled activity of mind of that truly great King, you are so fortunate as to contemplate nearly. Never was joy more sincere and universal than that which M. Coccei's arrival confirmed to us; and, amidst a whole nation's joy, none can surpass, if any can equal, mine. May Heaven continue to prosper the arduous work! for much, very much, remains to be done, and other wonders to be performed. May all prove propitious; and may success inspire sentiments of peace, to fix at last this long-fluctuating scene of blood and desolation, and to give stability and happiness to the fortunes of this unconquerable monarch!

M. Coccei's appearance and manner fully answer to the advantageous portrait you make of him; and I esteem myself happy in the acquisition of that gentleman's acquaintance. Accept my best thanks for the volume of admirable poetry which you were so good as to send me. I find

there the happiest imitations of the ancients ; the delicacy of Horace, and the force of Juvenal. I am, with great truth and consideration,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Dublin, September 11, 1760.

SIR,

I FLATTER myself you will have the goodness to pardon this one intrusion (the first I have ever presumed to make) from a person who, however unworthy, has yet been as little troublesome to you as any one can have been, whom you have ever honoured with the smallest share of your friendship or confidence. I am far from setting up any better claim to your favour, than that of having returned to this country from England, three years ago, with your badge upon my breast ; where it has appeared ever since, visible enough to deprive me of the privilege of begging at any other door. My situation here, and the part given me in the King's service, put me now under an indispensable necessity of begging ; and the consideration I have just now mentioned (I shall not use unnecessary words in enlarging upon it) contains the whole

(¹) Dr. George Stone. See Vol. I. p. 229. note.

of my apology for addressing this application to you.

The circumstance of the Earl of Drogheda's having raised a regiment of light dragoons, I know is familiar to you. I believe I was the first person (having for many years lived in friendship with his family) with whom Lord Drogheda consulted before he offered his proposal. I was at first startled at the expense: he was then lieutenant-colonel of horse; in his course to which command he had expended upwards of six thousand pounds of his own fortune, and was here to advance very near five thousand more for a commission of a more precarious tenure, and to lose all possibility of return of the first six thousand, which was otherwise secure to him, in case of his retiring from the service. All this I thought it incumbent upon me to lay before him; but he was bent upon the undertaking, nor did I take much pains to dissuade him from it, hoping that he might obtain the rank of colonel, from which he was not far distant by his standing in the army, without borrowing any aid from his nobility, property, or alliances. When this distinction could not be obtained, I was the only one of Lord Drogheda's friends who did not endeavour to oppose his inclinations for proceeding: and he did proceed, and has completely, and in an extraordinary manner, executed what he undertook, without desiring an alteration in any one condition of his proposal, although the material one that was ad-

vantageous to himself was not granted ; and though other gentlemen were commissioned afterwards to raise regiments, upon terms in every respect more favourable to them.

I beg you to believe that I am neither so absurd nor so ignorant as to move this business (which is in the Duke of Bedford's province) to you originally, or that I could hope for any assistance from you upon those terms. It is the subject of my constant, and I may say of my only very earnest, solicitation to the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Rigby is in full possession of my application, and I am encouraged to hope it will succeed ; but I am very certain that your countenance will both secure and accelerate its execution, if I can have credit enough to engage you to take one step out of your common way, in a business which affects me most essentially.

The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Rigby will, I am sure, do me full justice in their testimony of my conduct towards his Grace, and with regard to the King's service in a country, sometimes as untoward as it could be if it were more powerful. They are also extremely good to me in their acceptance of my services, and I make no doubt are in earnest in desiring that I may be gratified in this request ; which I should be ashamed of making in this very strong manner, if I were suing for a gratification to myself merely ; but I am less modest when I am speaking for one of the first noblemen in the country ; who, if the merits of his

family to the crown and government of England were weighed and considered, and his own personal value tried and known there, would not stand in need of my mediation. As far as truth, justice and honour, generous and elevated sentiments of public and private virtue, persevering application in business, sound good sense, an excellent temper, and the firmest personal intrepidity can recommend a man to esteem and favour, I can with confidence affirm that Lord Drogheda's title to them ought to be undisputed.

From all these motives, I presume to make it my humble request, and to beg your assistance in promoting it in the manner you shall judge most proper, that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to grant to the Earl of Drogheda the commission of colonel, with the rights and appointments of colonel of the regiment of light dragoons; whereof he is lieutenant-colonel commandant. If civil considerations, and those of his country only, can be of moment, it may be observed, that Lord Drogheda's alliances and friendships connect him very closely with those who are at present both willing and able to support the service of the government; and the effects of his being disgusted would not be unperceived. With regard to myself, they must have a very strong operation. Difficulties, objections, and competitions, I know there will be in the way to the obtaining of this favour; but I know they are such as may all be either surmounted or adjusted.

I have applied to no other person besides yourself,—excepting the Duke of Bedford, and, of course, Mr. Rigby; and if you are so good, sir, as to retain any friendly thoughts towards me, and are disposed to give me a proof of them in this instance, you will not be at a loss for the most proper and effectual means. It would be impertinence in me to point them out. The favour itself will be a most sensible gratification to me; but it will still be more welcome, if it comes through your approbation and assistance, and will make my prospect of the world, over which some late misfortunes have cast a gloom, look rather more cheerful before me: but if it is refused, or not obtained, the melancholy cast of my mind will impute the miscarriage of the suit to the unworthiness of the hand which presents it; and I shall soon grow to consider it as a warning for me to retire from a scene where I am no longer desired.

Let me entreat this further favour of you, that if you are not disposed to procure this gratification for me, you will not add the trouble of writing to that which the reading of this long letter has already given you, but rather suffer me to know my disappointment by your silence. I shall understand my case equally in that way; and my mortification would be rather less painful, than if I were to see, under your own hand, that I am slightly considered by you.

But, whatever may be the fate of this application, or my own fate, permit me to assure you,

that my best wishes have attended you most constantly through the course of your ministry. I have grieved in adverse, and rejoiced in prosperous events. I am persuaded you have already done more for your country than any other man could have done; and if those wishes and my prayers can have any effect, you will live to see a glorious and happy conclusion of the arduous and perilous work you have undertaken. I have the honour to be, with the utmost sincerity and highest respect, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and
affectionate humble servant,
GEORGE ARMAGH.

MR. PITT TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[From a rough draught, in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

[September —, 1760.]

MY LORD,

MY sentiments of esteem and affection towards your Grace are too real not to own, that the honour of your letter has given me much pain as well as pleasure. I find in it very obliging proofs of your friendship and favourable opinion, and I am filled with most sensible satisfaction; but, the melancholy colour thrown over other parts of it, and I know not what touch of discontent, be it with yourself, or perhaps with your friend, not

only have damped my joy in receiving kind marks of your remembrance, but given me sincere concern.

What shall I do or say to dispel the cloud, and set both yourself and your humble servant right again in your eyes? Will my dear Lord Primate give me leave to talk with him, as I could do to Lord Temple in a similar case? and I think my heart is so clear towards your Grace, that I might venture to expostulate even as to a brother.

I will briefly and simply, then, expose my situation as to interfering in military promotions; more especially in that to the rank of colonel. I have declared, in the most explicit manner, on my legs in the House of Commons, my opinion concerning promotions of favour over the heads of ancient lieutenant-colonels, actually serving with the highest distinction in all parts of the world; and I have, as it were, publicly pledged myself to that most meritorious class of officers, that I would never contribute, from any considerations of family or parliamentary interest, to their depression. On these grounds, I excused myself to Lord Besborough and to the Duke of Devonshire last winter, when they much interested themselves for Lord Drogheda; the distinguished zeal as well as the general character of which noble lord, gave me the sincerest wish to have had it in my power to serve him, without too much mortifying and deeply wounding, in very senior officers, that gallant and respectable spirit which, thank Heaven! breathes

through the British troops. I do not, however, mean by this, that a person of Lord Drogheda's quality and weight in his country is to keep the exact pace of every lieutenant-colonel in the service, and rise only inch by inch through such an immense list, according to the strict date of his commission ; but all I mean to submit to your Grace's and to Lord Drogheda's candour is, that among the very many lieutenant-colonels above his lordship on that list, there are not a few who cannot be postponed without great hardship and loud complaints in the army. The regiments and aides-de-camp now vacant, and about to become so, would go a good way in clearing this crying debt to signal services ; and a little time may open the way, without much discontent, to that mark of favour, to which Lord Drogheda's great merit to government and ardour for the service so well entitle him.

This is the plain and true state of the case. My cause is before the court, and I know your Grace can only pass an equitable sentence. Be assured, my lord, that nothing but an essential duty can weigh with me against a wish of your Grace.

“ More lov'd than any, but less dear than all,”

is a beautiful line, which shall close my peroration ; and I will rest satisfied, that my true respect and sincere friendship for your Grace will not, in your own eye, stand impeached, though for *the*

present, my hand must not contribute to Lord Drogheda's promotion.⁽¹⁾

Let me rejoice with your Grace on the glorious close of the scene in North America.⁽²⁾ May the same favourable Providence bless us with the proper and happy fruit of victory—peace, advantageous, solid, lasting peace!

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

(1) Charles, sixth earl of Drogheda, was born in 1730. In 1762, he was made colonel of the 18th regiment of light dragoons; and, after having been muster-master general and master-general of the ordnance, he was, in 1791, appointed joint post-master-general of Ireland. In the same year he was raised to a marquisate, and in 1801 created an English peer, by the title of baron Moore, of Moore Place, Kent. At the entry of George the Fourth into Dublin, in August, 1821, the marquis, then in his ninety-second year, appeared at the window of his house, in Sackville-street, dressed in the old-fashioned uniform of the above-mentioned regiment. He died at Dublin in December, 1822.

(2) The surrender of Montreal; of which General Amherst took possession on the 7th of September, and thereby completed the conquest of all Canada:—“a conquest,” says Smollett, “the most important of any that ever the British arms achieved; whether we consider the safety of the English colonies in North America, now secured from invasion and encroachment; the extent and fertility of the country subdued; or the whole Indian commerce thus transferred to the traders of Great Britain.” Upon this occasion, Lord Temple thus addresses Mr. Pitt: “No end of glory and exultation! the close of the King's reign is most strikingly distinguished by lustre of every sort. May he feel it as he ought; and long enjoy the comfort of it, without forgetting who has wrought the wonderful change!”

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Wimpole, September 29, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the opportunity of my Lord Anson's return to London, to transmit to your office the draught of your letters to the Earl of Bristol of the 26th instant, together with the inclosures accompanying them, which were brought me on Saturday last by Pritchard the messenger. The copies of the two memorials, delivered on the 9th of this month by the Conde de Fuentes I received several days before, but as they were docketted *for my use*, I have kept them for consideration.

Permit me to profit of this occasion to acknowledge the great honour you do me by these communications, which I esteem as fresh marks of that confidence whereof I am very proud. I wish it was in my power to make any return which might be agreeable to you, and at the same time useful to his Majesty's service. I own I never was more surprised in my life than at the style and turn of these two extraordinary pieces, so different from what there was reason to expect from the mission of M. de Fuentes; but what could not fail to strike most was, the previous and unprecedented appeal to the court of France, avowed in the memorial relating to the Newfoundland fishery. Nothing could be more wise, nor more agreeable to the King's dignity, than the *réponse verbale*

which you gave the Spanish ambassador upon that point ; the terms whereof are as forcible, and yet as measured, as could possibly be invented. ⁽¹⁾ One idea meant to be conveyed by that step, so unusual between friendly courts, I conjecture, was, that France was to be summoned as a witness to overturn our title to that exclusive right, which she pretended to sell to England (if I may so express it) by the treaty of Utrecht.

As to the other memorial, relating to the establishments on the coasts of Honduras, Mosquitos, &c., and the cutting of logwood, I am very glad that this method of a provisional instruction to my Lord Bristol, to confer confidentially with M. Wall, has been fallen upon. At the same time that the manner and turn of that paper disgust and

⁽¹⁾ The following is the passage in Mr. Pitt's *réponse verbale* to the Count de Fuentes's memorial, to which Lord Hardwicke particularly refers : — “ Il s'y trouve une circonstance, qui intéresse si fort l'honneur du Roi et la dignité de sa couronne, qu'il m'est indispensable d'en marquer, à la première occasion, à votre Excellence, par ordre du Roi, la surprise et le regret que cela a causé. C'est cet endroit du dit mémoire, où il est dit, ‘ *Que copie en est communiquée à la cour de France.* ’ Je dois remarquer à votre Excellence, qu'on ignore parfaitement le motif et l'objet d'une communication si extraordinaire, envers un cour en guerre ouverte contre l'Angleterre, et qui d'ailleurs ne peut, en aucun tems, avoir de se mêler des prétensions Espagnoles sur nous pour la pêche de Terre-neuve. Ce qui est très certain est, que la façon de penser de cette puissance ennemie, par rapport au dit objet, ne sauroit jamais ajouter plus de poids auprès de sa Majesté, que ses sentimens d'amitié en donnent aux représentations de sa Majesté Catholique, toutes les fois que la conservation indispensable des droits essentiels de ses sujets le permet à sa Majesté.”

offend one, I wish several parts of it were not too well founded upon the merits. In a case so delicate and embarrassing, there could not have been a more prudent and eligible part than such an intermediate step before a definitive answer is given, in order to sound and soften the Spanish minister, and try to find out how deeply these schemes have taken root at that court, and from what motives. A more able letter could not possibly have been drawn for that purpose, nor more judiciously adapted to the end ; but I much fear that M. Wall's influence in the court of Madrid is not the same as it has been, and that his having been represented as partial to England will make him cautious and reserved to open himself upon such points. You may recollect that, from the first, I expressed great apprehensions of M. Ensenada's return⁽¹⁾ ; and I think I see marks of

(1) The Marquis d'Ensenada was the implacable enemy of the British nation. In 1754, it had been discovered, chiefly by the sagacity of Sir Benjamin Keene, and imparted to the King of Spain, that the marquis had sent orders to their West Indian governors to fall on our ships, and had lent great sums of the royal treasure to the French East India Company. He was, in consequence, disgraced, and exiled to Granada. Upon the new King's accession, he had been recalled to court. In a private letter, addressed by Lord Kinnoul to Mr. Pitt, and dated Lisbon, May 17, there is the following passage : — “ Don Luis D'Acunha told me yesterday, that the circumstances of the liberty given to the Marquis D'Ensenada had been much exaggerated ; that the letter handed about at Madrid (supposed to have been written by M. de Squillace), wherein the order is introduced by the King's approbation of Ensenada's former services, was not true, but had been invented for the purpose ; that this favour had been procured by the intercession of the Queen-mother ;

it in these papers, and his hand is particular in one part, which I am sure cannot have escaped your attention. The enterprize, which was projected in the year 1754, against the English establishments on the river Wallis, is there represented as proceeding only from the Spanish governors in America, in consequence of their general instructions; whereas, according to my memory, Ensenada had procured the late King Ferdinand's signature to special and particular orders for that purpose, by surprise and imposition, without seeing or opening the contents of them; and this was declared by M. Wall to have been avowed by his late Catholic majesty himself. If my memory does not mislead me, it was one of the crimes for which he was disgraced and exiled; and I can hardly imagine that, if M. Wall had been master of the draught of this memorial, he would have given it such a turn as to make M. Ensenada's apology for him.

I continually hear from my friend the Duke of Newcastle, how harmoniously you go on together; which gives me the greatest pleasure.⁽¹⁾ I have

that he did not apprehend that the King of Spain had at present any intention of changing the system of his ministry, though he owned that it is always dangerous to have a man of so intriguing a spirit near the court." In 1766, Ensenada was a second time disgraced, and banished.

⁽¹⁾ "We have little new in England," writes Sir Joseph Yorke to Mr. Mitchell, on the 6th of September; "the best is, that the King is, thank God, perfectly well, and the nation quiet

also heard that you are making a very interesting operation in your family, by inoculating some of your children. I know how affecting a crisis that must be to the mind of so tender a parent, and beg leave to offer my sincerest vows for the happy success of it. I am always, with sentiments of the utmost respect and truth, dear Sir, &c.

HARDWICKE.

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO MR. PITT.

Warbourg, October 13, 1760.

SIR,

I HAVE, by his Serene Highness's orders, acquainted Lord Holderness with the unfortunate event of the loss of Berlin⁽¹⁾; the garrison of which capitulated on the 9th, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to Generals Tottleben and Lascy. The Duke of Wirtemberg, with General Hulsen who had joined him, thinking it imprudent to risk an action against so superior a force, as the capital would most probably have been totally ruined, had they lost the day, retreated to Spandau.

and united. Would you believe it! no more noise or stir about elections, than if the parliament was to continue six sessions longer. That is as extraordinary an event, as any of these marvellous times." — *Mitchell MSS.*

(¹) The Austrian and Prussian troops entered Berlin on the 9th of October, and quitted it on the 13th; on hearing that the King of Prussia was in full march to the relief of his capital.

You will see, Sir, by my letter to Lord Holder-
nesse, that the Duke of Wirtemberg has joined the
greatest part of his forces with the army of the em-
pire ; and that they are now besieging Wittenburg.
The situation of his Prussian Majesty's affairs in
these parts seems to be very critical. They im-
plore assistance, and indeed they seem to be in
very great want of it ; but I am afraid my hands
are full, and that it will not be in his Serene
Highness's power to make any diversion in their
favour.

His Serene Highness desired, Sir, that I would
acquaint you with my having wrote to Lord Hol-
dernesse to acquaint him with the present situation
of affairs ; which he thought on every part to be near
the eve of producing some decisive stroke. He
thought it his duty to state the matters of fact as
they were, that his Majesty and his ministers might
consider if any thing could be done immediately to
reinforce us, as the present situation of affairs, if
there was a possibility, required it. Should it be
impracticable to send any more troops over, he sub-
mitted to their consideration, whether any appear-
ance of a diversion on the coasts of France or
Flanders might not retard the march of those
troops now marching for the Bas Rhine. At the
same time, his Serene Highness desired that I
would inform you, Sir, that though he thought it
his duty to state the situation of affairs and to ac-
quaint you with his wishes, that in the present
critical situation of things here, a reinforcement

could be sent over, yet he hopes that you will not think that he desponds, or considers them in any shape desperate. On the contrary, notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, he does not doubt, from the zeal and goodness of the troops under his command, that when the decisive stroke comes, the event will prove successful to the allied army. I am, with the greatest esteem and truth, Sir,

Your most faithful
humble servant,
GRANBY.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

October 28, 1760.

MONSEIGNEUR,

LA mort inopinée qui vient d'enlever le plus respecté des Rois⁽¹⁾ à ses peuples et à la cause

(¹) "On the 25th of October, the King rose as usual at six, and drank his chocolate; for all his actions were invariably methodic. A quarter after seven he went into a little closet; his German valet-de-chambre in waiting heard a noise, and, running in, found the King dead on the floor. In falling, he had cut his face against the corner of a bureau. He was laid on a bed and blooded, but not a drop followed; the ventricle of his heart had burst. Princess Amelia was called, and told the King wanted her. She went immediately, and thought him in a fit: being deaf herself, she saw nothing in the chamber that indicated his being dead; and putting her face close to his, to

commune, dans un moment si critique, eût été un événement aussi peu susceptible de ressource qu'il

hear if he spoke to her, she then first perceived he was lifeless. What an enviable death ! In the greatest period of the glory of this country and of his reign, in perfect tranquillity at home, at seventy-seven, growing blind and deaf, to die without a pang, before any reverse of fortune, or any distasted peace ; nay, but two days before a ship-load of bad news : could he have chosen such another moment ? " See Walpole's *Memoirs of Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 454, and *Letters to Horace Mann*, vol. iii. p. 382.

Smollett concludes a recapitulation of the leading events of this reign in these words : — " The unpropitious beginning of the war against France, being imputed to the misconduct of the administration, excited such a ferment among the people, as seemed to threaten a dangerous insurrection. The King found himself obliged to accept of a minister presented by the people ; and this measure was attended with consequences as favourable as his wish could form. From that instant all clamour was hushed ; all opposition ceased. The enterprising spirit of Mr. Pitt seemed to diffuse itself through all the operations of the war ; and conquest every where attended the efforts of the British arms. England for the first time saw a minister of state in full possession of popularity. Under the auspices of this minister, it saw the military genius of Great Britain revive, and shine with redoubled lustre ; it saw her interest and glory coincide, and an immense extent of country added by conquest to her dominions."

In his " *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*," published in 1770, Mr. Burke pays the following beautiful tribute to the memory of the deceased monarch : — " In times full of doubt and danger to his person and family, George the Second maintained the dignity of his crown connected with the liberty of his people, not only unimpaired, but improved, for the space of thirty-three years. He carried the glory, the power, the commerce of England, to a height unknown even to this renowned nation in the times of its greatest prosperity ; and he left his succession resting on the true and only foundations of all natural and all regal greatness ; affection at home, reputation abroad, trust in allies, terror in rival nations. The most ardent lover of his country cannot wish for Great Britain

est affligeant, si le jeune monarque qui lui succède n'y eût donné d'abord, en montant le trône, les témoignages d'une fermeté et d'un magnanimité qui l'anime, et qui annoncent à l'Europe combien les intérêts de ses alliés ⁽¹⁾ lui seront toujours chers, et que la cause commune ne cessera de trouver en sa Majesté un appui inébranlable. Et ce qui comble mes vœux et soutiennent mes espérances pour la conservation des libertés de l'Europe, et pour la défense de la cause Protestante, c'est l'étendue de la confiance et de l'admiration que sa Majesté témoigne pour les illustres défenseurs du salut publique ; qui, dans des circonstances les plus difficiles, soutiennent constamment la gloire des armes de sa Majesté, au plus haut point où elle a été porté sous les auspices de la sérénissime maison de Brunswic.

Agréez, Monseigneur, que dans un crise si intéressante, j'offre de nouveau à V. A. S. et à Monseigneur le Prince Héréditaire les hommages d'un cœur rempli d'une vénération et d'un dévouement, qui ne cesseront qu'avec la vie.

Je suis, &c.

W. PITT.

a happier fate than to continue as she was then left. A people, emulous as we are in affection to our present sovereign, know not how to form a prayer to heaven for a greater blessing upon his virtues, or a higher state of felicity and glory, than that he should live, and should reign, and, when Providence ordains it, should die, exactly like his illustrious predecessor."

(1) In his declaration to the privy council, on the day of George the Second's decease, the new monarch had expressed his de-

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO MR. PITT.

A` Meissen ce 7^e Novembre, 1760.

MONSIEUR,

JE viens d'apprendre avec une sensible douleur la perte que nous venons de faire. Quoique la

termination to prosecute the war in the manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with his Allies. "The young king," says Walpole, in a letter to Mr. Montagu of this date, "has behaved with the greatest propriety, dignity, and decency. He read his speech to the council with much grace, and dismissed the guards on himself to wait on his grandfather's body. It is intimated that he means to employ the same ministers, but with reserve to himself of more authority than has lately been in fashion. The Duke of York and Lord Bute are named of the cabinet council." Again, on the 31st, he writes: — "When you have changed the cipher of George the Second into that of George the Third, and have shifted a few lords and grooms of the bed-chamber, you are master of the history of the new reign, which is indeed but a new lease of the old one. The Favourite took it up in a high style; but having forgot to ensure either house of parliament, or the mob, the third house of parliament, he drove all the rest to unite. They have united, and have notified their resolution of governing as before: not but the Duke of Newcastle cried for his old master, desponded for himself, protested he would retire, consulted every body whose interest it was to advise him to stay, and has accepted to-day. For the King himself, he seems all good-nature, and wishing to satisfy every body: all his speeches are obliging; I was surprised to find the levee room had lost so entirely the air of the lion's den. This sovereign don't stand in one spot, with his eyes fixed royally on the ground, and dropping bits of German news; he walks about and speaks to every body. I saw him afterwards on the throne, where he is graceful and genteel, sits with dignity, and reads his answers to addresses well: it was the Cambridge address, carried by the Duke of Newcastle in his doctor's gown, and looking like the *médecin malgré lui*."

mort du Roi mon Oncle ne soit pas prématurée, cet événement subit, dans les conjonctures où nous nous trouvons, ne laisse pas que de m'affliger infiniment. Je mets ma confiance en vous, Monsieur, et dans ce caractère d'un vrai Romain, dont vous avez donné des marques si éclatantes durant votre ministère ; je me repose sur vous sans que j'appréhende de me tromper ; et je ne doute point que vous ne continuiez à travailler avec le même zèle pour le bien de la cause commune, que vous n'avez fait jusqu'ici durant le regne du Roi mon Oncle.

Nous avons eu des succès d'un côté, mais à parler franchement, ils ont été contrebalancé par des événemens favorables à nos ennemis. (1)

(1) This letter was written only four days after the desperate battle of Torgau, of which Walpole gives the following animated relation : — “ The two armies encamped near Torgau ; Marshal Daun with every advantage of position. The King of Prussia's situation was tremendous. Winter advanced, and Frederick had nothing but a ruined country to receive him if defeated. He saw the gulf that surrounded him. He determined to fight, and told his troops that he was resolved to conquer or die. Under the awfulness of despair they attacked the enemy. Fury animated the Prussians ; intrepidity sustained the Austrians. The event was long in suspense, and fluctuated alternately. The Prussians at last threw the enemy into disorder ; and the marshal himself receiving a dangerous wound in the thigh, Colonel O'Donnel, who succeeded to the command, found it vain to dispute the field any longer. It was nine at night of the 3d of November ; the battle had lasted from two in the afternoon ; a retreat was sounded, and made in good order by the Austrians. Dearly did the Prussians buy their victory ; but in such a crisis, what was too dear for Frederick to pay ? His loss was computed at thirteen thousand men. The Austrians had not suffered less ; in prisoners abundantly. Four generals, two hundred and sixteen

Leur nombre nous est trop supérieur pour que nous puissions nous flatter avec raison de pouvoir remporter sur eux des avantages décisifs et capables de faire plier leur orgueil et les vûes très étendûes de leur ambition. Vous êtes peut-être le seul homme en Europe qui, par vos sages mesures, pourrez trouver un tempérament propre à finir d'une manière glorieuse une guerre ruineuse et funeste à toutes les parties belligérantes également. Je le répète, je mets toute ma confiance en vous ; c'est vous assurer de toute mon estime, et des sentimens avec les quels je désire de vous prouver que je suis votre véritable ami,

FREDERIC.

ANDREW MITCHELL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Glogau, November 10, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR private letter of the 9th September, which I received here about a week ago, gave me most sincere joy, and I shall not fail to communicate to the Hero I attend, the friendly and manly sentiments it conveys.

I most heartily congratulate you on the glorious success of his Majesty's arms in America (which

officers, and eight thousand private men taken, with possession of the field, were decisive in favour of the Prussians. The recovery of all Saxony, but Dresden, made the victory indisputable." — *Memoirs of Geo. II.* vol. ii. p. 449.

is your own work), as well as on another unexpected victory obtained by the King of Prussia on the 3d instant near Torgau. It is said to have been great and complete; but as I have yet seen no authentic relation, I forbear saying more.

The news of his late Majesty's death struck an universal damp upon the spirits of all the well-wishers to the common cause, which nothing but his present Majesty's wise and well-timed declaration in council could have dissipated. Thank Heaven, it has had the effect; and people here look for their salvation from England.

My Lord Holderness having acquainted me, that it is his Majesty's gracious intention to send me new letters of credence to this court, I think myself highly honoured by this mark of his Majesty's favour; and as I am, Sir, probably indebted to you for the favourable opinion the King has of me, accept of my most hearty thanks. The friendly manner in which you write emboldens me to ask your assistance in a pretension I made, about two years ago, for one of the vacant red ribbons. My reasons for asking it were, as a public mark of the King's approbation of my conduct, and as a sort of protection to my person; for I have unfortunately, even during this last campaign, been in divers situations, where a mark of distinction would have been of the greatest use. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and

most humble Servant,

ANDREW MITCHELL.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor-Square, Tuesday Morning,
November 11, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

LATE last night I received your note, together with the draught of a paragraph inclosed, and think myself much honoured by the communication. I make no doubt of the candour with which it is proposed, nor of that with which it will be considered. This will be a day of hurry⁽¹⁾; but I

(1) The funeral of George the Second, which took place on the evening of this day in Westminster Abbey, is thus admirably described by Walpole, in a letter to Mr. Montagu : — “ It was absolutely a noble sight. The Prince’s chamber, hung with purple, and a quantity of silver lamps, the coffin under a canopy of purple velvet, and six vast chandeliers of silver on high stands, had a very good effect. The procession, through a line of foot-guards every seventh man bearing a torch, the horse-guards lining the outside, their officers with drawn sabres and crape sashes on horseback, the drums muffled, the fifes, bells tolling, and minute guns — all this was very solemn. But the charm was the entrance of the Abbey, where we were received by the dean and chapter in rich robes, the choir and almsmen bearing torches; the whole Abbey so illuminated, that one saw it to greater advantage than by day; the tombs, long aisles, and fretted roof, all appearing distinctly, and with the happiest *chiaro scuro*. * * * When we came to the Chapel of Henry the Seventh, all solemnity and decorum ceased; no order was observed, people sat or stood where they could or would; the yeomen of the guards were crying out for help, oppressed by the immense weight of the coffin; the bishop read sadly, and blundered in the prayers; the fine chapter, *Man that is born of a woman*, was chaunted, not read, and the anthem, besides being immeasurably tedious, would have served as well for a nuptial. The real serious part was the figure of the Duke of Cumberland, heightened by a thousand melancholy circumstances. He had a dark brown

beg you will give me leave to wait upon you to-morrow with an entire draught of the Speech⁽¹⁾; upon which I shall be happy to learn your thoughts in the first place. I imagine this will be the best way, and will receive your commands as to the hour, at the meeting at St. James's this forenoon. I am always, with the greatest truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and
faithful humble servant,
HARDWICKE.⁽²⁾

adonis, and a cloak of black cloth, with a train of five yards. Attending the funeral of a father could not be pleasant: his leg extremely bad, yet forced to stand upon it for two hours; his face bloated and distorted with his late paralytic stroke, and placed over the mouth of the vault into which, in all probability, he must himself so soon descend! It was very theatric to look down into the vault, where the coffin lay, attended by mourners with lights."

(1) The Speech to be delivered by the King on the 18th, upon opening the session. It appears by the Hardwicke Papers, that after the draught of it had been settled by the cabinet, the following words were inserted in his Majesty's own hand:—"Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne."

(2) Sir Joseph Yorke, writing shortly after to Mr. Mitchell, says:—"Lord Hardwicke has been much caressed by the King and his ministers, and continues to give his helping hand without place or pension. The young monarch has ascended the throne in the happiest æra of the British nation, the first of his family born in England, in the prime of life, with a good constitution, and with the good opinion of his subjects. He has many amiable and virtuous qualities, is rather timid, but since his accession, I am told he represents well, and spoke his Speech

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

A` Owelgunne, ce 13^e Novembre, 1760.

MONSIEUR,

Je ne saurois me refuser la satisfaction de témoigner à Votre Excellence combien je suis charmé de la voir sous le nouveau regne occuper la même place qu'Elle a occupé sous le regne précédent, avec autant de gloire que d'avantage pour la Grande Bretagne et pour toute la cause commune. C'est une augure bien favorable pour le bonheur de l'empire Britannique, que de vous voir continuer à travailler pour son avantage. La cause commune

with great grace and dignity. He received all his grandfather's servants with great goodness, and pressed them to continue in his service; which they consented to do, though some of them, particularly the Duke of Newcastle, was inclined to retire; but all the Whigs in the kingdom united to desire his continuance in employment, and he was promised the direction in the new elections. with all the other influence he formerly enjoyed. Mr. Pitt has, however, the lead, and Lord Bute has a difficult game to play, as a personal friend and favourite, with weight, of course, but no employment of business. This, you see, must occasion new scenes, which will be represented as people's passions and interests lead them. Hitherto things have gone on smoothly in appearance, and in parliament unanimously, and the only thing which occasioned a fluster, was the invitation and admission of some Tory lords and commoners into the bed-chamber; a measure which I should have no objection to, if concerted; but which, nevertheless, may rather tend to divide than to unite. In what way the new parliament will be chosen, we shall soon see. I hear the fashion at court is to say, it shall be a parliament of the people's own choosing; which, in these times, may open the door to new cabals and difficulties, though the principle of it may be wise and honest." — *Mitchell MSS.*

y aura sa grande part : mais ce n'est pas cette considération seule qui m'y intéresse ; l'amitié dont Votre Excellence m'a toujours honoré m'y présente des intérêts qui me sont des plus précieux. Je prie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien en être persuadé, et de me croire à jamais, avec les sentimens de la plus haute estime, Monsieur, de Votre Excellence,

Le très humble,

très obéissant serviteur,

FERDINAND DUC DE BRUNSWIC
ET DE LÜNEBOURG.

MR. PITT TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

[From a rough draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

Ce — de Novembre, 1760.

SIRE,

LA lettre que votre Majesté a daignée m'écrire, en me comblant de gloire, me pénètre d'une reconnaissance également vive et respectueuse. Des paroles ne peuvent dire le prix de la condéscendance et du suffrage d'un Monarque, dont le nom ne cessera d'être célébré et vénéré qu'avec celui du Roi Macédonien, qui n'a eu, toutefois, qu'un empire à combattre, non les forces réunies de deux à la fois, tels que ceux qui sont conjurés contre votre Majesté. Qu'il me soit permis, Sire, ici, en mêlant ma voix aux éloges de l'Europe universelle sur la dernière victoire de V. M. en Saxe, d'aspirer à sur-

passer, à cette occasion, par la sensibilité de ma joie, les plus zélés de votre gloire.

Enhardi encore par l'étendue de cette confiance par la quelle V. M. a daignée me distinguer, j'ose de plus, Sire, applaudir, comme un suprême effort de magnanimité, à ces réflexions que la sagesse et l'amour du genre humain ont fait naître au milieu même des victoires, tendantes à acheminer la fin des maux d'une guerre généralement ruineuse, et si particulièrement désolante et funeste à l'Allemagne ; trop heureux si, dans une conjoncture aussi intéressante, il m'étoit donné de contribuer en rien à la moindre partie de l'idée si infiniment au-dessus de mes facultés. Mais en reconnoissant, comme je dois, tout mon néant, je n'ai pas laissé de sentir, Sire, qu'il a dépendu simplement d'une intention droite de faire, de la lueur qu'il a plu à V. M. de me confier, l'usage que je suis fortement convaincu être le plus conforme à vos intérêts, et en même tems de m'acquitter essentiellement de mon devoir envers le Roi, par un attachement inviolable à la cause de V. M. ; qui n'est en effet que celle de la liberté commune.

Agréez, Sire, que, pour ne vous plus détourner, je me réfère pour le reste aux dépêches de vos ministres, et qu'en faisant sans cesse des vœux pour vos prospérités, j'ose supplier V. M. de me faire la grace de me continuer cette haute bienveillance, et cette protection qu'il lui a plu de m'accorder. Je suis, avec le plus profond respect, Sire, &c.

W. PITT.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

A` Meissen, ce 26^e de Novembre, 1760.

MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE,

IL faudroit que je fusse privé de tout sentiment, si je n'étois pas sensible à la manière affectueuse et cordiale dont votre Majesté daigne prendre part aux succès que mes troupes ont eues contre les Autrichiens. Je voudrois pouvoir lui marquer toute l'impression qu'un procédé aussi généreux a fait dans mon cœur ; il ne s'en effacera jamais. Je ne cesserai de me rappeler que les prémices de son regne ont été marqués par des témoignages d'amitié, par une noble fermeté à soutenir les engagements du Roi son grand-père, et par l'amour de ses peuples pour un Monarque, qui en montant le trône donne des témoignages éclatans de tant de vertus.

Que ne puisse-je contribuer autant que je le désire au bien de la cause commune ! J'ai cependant fait quelque détachement, ne pouvant faire davantage, qui obligeront peut-être les François de quitter Göttingen, et donneront au Prince Ferdinand le moyen de nettoyer le Landgraviat de Hesse. ⁽¹⁾

(1) After their failure on the Rhine, the allied army in Westphalia made a vigorous attempt upon Göttingen, which they kept blockaded until the 12th of December ; when the French, having taken a strong post of the allies in a sally, compelled them to raise it, and go into winter quarters, leaving the enemy in possession of Hesse, and the whole country eastward of the Weser to the frontiers of the Electorate ; by which they com-

Votre Majesté se contentera pour le présent de ces foibles marques de ma bonne volonté que je lui donne : né avec un cœur sensible et une âme reconnoissante, je voudrois que mes facultés répondissent à mes désires, pour lui prouver toute l'étendue de la haute estime et de la considération avec laquelle je suis inviolablement,

Monsieur mon Frère,
De votre Majesté le bon Frère,
FREDERIC.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, November 28, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

AT my coming home this moment, I found a letter from my nephew Charles Townshend, giving me an account of the happy issue of the meeting this morning. I cannot avoid immediately congratulating you upon it, as it removes, I hope, any possibility of difference this session, amongst those who mean the same thing. I know how much those who wish union and quiet ⁽¹⁾ owe to you upon

municated with the Austrians and Imperialists, and prevented the succours with which the King of Prussia, after the battle of Torgau, had intended to reinforce the allied army.

(1) The subjoined extracts from Dodington's Diary, of this and the following month, will show the extent to which in-

this occasion, and I see with pleasure the happy effect of your endeavours. Give me leave particularly to return you my thanks ; as a difficulty is now removed, which I have long feared with the greatest concern. I am, with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,
 HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

trigues to disturb and overturn the "union and quiet" here spoken of, had already proceeded : —

" November 22. — Lord Bute sent to desire to see me, at my own house, in Pall Mall. He staid two hours with me ; we had serious and confidential talk : he gave me repeated assurances of his most generous friendship, and fresh instances of the King's benignity, by his Majesty's order.

" November 29. — Lord Bute came to me by appointment, and staid a great while. I pressed him much to take the Secretary's office, and provide otherwise for Lord Holderness : he hesitated for some time, and then said, if that was the only difficulty, it could be easily removed ; for Lord Holderness was ready, *at his desire*, to quarrel with his fellow ministers (on account of the slights and ill usage which he daily experienced) and go to the King, and throw up in *seeming anger*, and then he (Bute) might come in, without seeming to displace any body. I own the expedient did not please me."

" Dec. 20. — Lord Bute called on me, and we had much talk about setting up a paper, and about the Houses, in case of resignations.

" Dec. 21. — Mr. Glover was with me, and was full of admiration of Lord Bute : he applauded his conduct, and the King's ; saying, that they would beat every thing ; but a little time must be allowed for the madness of popularity to cool.

" Dec. 23. — Lord Bute was with me, and we weighed and considered all things, and, though after long discussions we parted without any decision, I think he inclines much to my scheme."

THE COUNT DE FUENTES TO M. WALL. ⁽¹⁾

London, January 23, 1761.

THE Duke of Devonshire ⁽²⁾ asked me the other day, what state the affair of Honduras ⁽³⁾ was in. I communicated to him the last resolution of this court. He then told me, that he had lately asked the King to dispense with his attendance in council, except when ordered upon any particular occasion. He was surprised a little at the resolution, that the despatch should serve for an answer, remembering that he himself had assured me they would give one; and protested to me, that he knew nothing of it. I believe it is so; and am confirmed in my opinion, that both he and many others dissemble, waiting for an opportunity to destroy Mr. Pitt's party.

⁽¹⁾ Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cipher."

⁽²⁾ The Duke of Devonshire was at this time lord chamberlain.

⁽³⁾ After the conquest of Jamaica by the English, one of the first objects of the settlers was the great profit arising from the logwood trade, and the facility of wresting a portion of it from the Spaniards. Their first attempt was made at Cape Catoche, the south-east promontory of Yucatan. When most of the trees near this cape were felled, they removed to the island of Trist, in the bay of Campeachy; and, in later times, they made the bay of Honduras their principal station. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negotiation, remonstrances, and open force, to prevent the English from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But, after struggling against it for more than a century, the court of Madrid, in 1763, gave a reluctant consent to this settlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories; and the privilege was confirmed by the definitive treaty of 1783.

At present there is no other voice in council but his, which, joined to that of my Lord Bute, serves to decide matters; so that the Duke of Devonshire, if he had been present, would have been obliged to have followed the opinion of the rest. Great has been the loss of King George the Second: his authority and long experience greatly restrained the ideas of this people's minister, and gave the greatest force to the opposite party. He is every thing; and during his ministry we shall never get justice done us. The contrary party, not being able to resist him at present, will not oppose his way of thinking against us, but will rather be glad to see him engaged, in hopes of some consequence resulting, which may bring about his fall. (1)

FUENTES.

(1) In Dodington's Diary, of the 2d of January, there is the following entry: —“ Lord Bute came and said, he was sure that the ministry had some glimpse of getting off our system, by setting up that of abandoning Hanover, and of supplying the money to distress France into a peace; that they would, by their popularity, force this measure upon the King, who must consequently lose a great deal of his own. I told him, as the truth was, that this measure was the only sound one to get out of the war; that I had begun to put my thoughts upon it into writing, to persuade him to obtain powers of the King to carry it into execution. He paused a considerable time, and did not say positively that he could or could not get his Majesty to consent to this system; but he returned to say, that he thought the ministry had an eye that way. If such should be their scheme, I said, it would be irresistible; but there was one way to defeat the use they proposed from it, which was, *to put himself at the head of it*, in a great office of business, and to take the lead. Lord Bute said, that though he

THE MARQUIS GRIMALDI⁽¹⁾ TO THE COUNT DE
FUENTES. ⁽²⁾

Paris, February 15, 1761.

IN consequence of our reciprocal charges, I am to inform your excellency, that this ministry has assured me, that neither they nor their allies have any direct negotiation of peace in hand ; but it is certain that they ardently wish for one here ; and have laboured to bring the courts of Vienna and Petersbough into such terms, that they flatter themselves that proposals being made, with the consent of their allies, to the Kings of England and Prussia, these two monarchs could not fail of accepting them, as they will be favourable for them.

It is necessary that your excellency should observe the greatest secrecy in regard to this project, though you should know it for your own govern-

was sure the ministry looked that way, he hoped and believed, they would not easily follow it ; that I, indeed, always talked of them, as if they were united, whereas they neither were, nor could be : that the Duke of Newcastle most sincerely wished for peace, and would go any length to attain it : that Mr. Pitt meditated a retreat, and would stay in no longer than the war. But, for my part, I think they will continue the war as long as they can ; and keep in, when it is over, as long as they can ; and that will be as long as they please, if they are suffered to make peace. All which can never end well for the King and Lord Bute. We agreed upon getting runners, and to settle what he would disperse." — p. 375.

(1) Spanish ambassador at the court of France.

(2) Endorsed, " translation of a letter in cipher."

ment. It is possible there may be an opposition, and impediments may arise ; but I am not disheartened, nor shall I fail trying, on this account, if there is not a way of taking some measures with these people : it is certain we have thought of it a little late. I do not know whether our court will come into it ; but I think it my duty to propose what may be useful to us, and I judge it necessary without exposing the king.

GRIMALDI.

THE MARQUIS GRIMALDI TO THE COUNT DE
FUENTES. (1)

Paris, February 26, 1761.

LITTLE can be said in cipher, but I will tell you in a few words what is essential. The case is, that France having resolved for peace, in order to prevent greater misfortunes, is ready to offer it, and accept of it *in statu quo*. She has got over the courts of Vienna and Petersbrough to renounce the greatest part of their pretensions ; every thing has been communicated to me here. This project ought to be kept as a great secret from the ministry of England. It is possible yet that there may be quarrelling, or that peace may not take place ; which is looked upon here as almost certain, on this footing.

(1) Endorsed, " translation of a letter in cipher."

In consideration of this and of our situation, I begin working, in order to see if we can make some alliance with France, which may protect us from those accidents we ought to fear : but whether we obtain it, or whether there are difficulties to be surmounted, (as it is said here, that we have waited till they are destroyed, and are consequently of no use) it is necessary to dissemble, and that they may not suspect our projects and negotiations. I add, that the court of Vienna submits unwillingly to what is desired here ; but it cannot stand alone, and does not know how to answer the argument of these people, that they these three years have been sacrificing their interests in America to serve the Queen of Hungary ; that the time is come that they can do it no longer ; nor is there any treaty to oblige them to it.

GRIMALDI.

JOHN WILKES, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Great George Street,
Friday, February 27, 1761.

SIR,

MAY I for a few moments draw your attention from the interests of your country to the concerns of an individual, whose pride it is to have Mr. Pitt his patron and friend ? I do not mean to be importunate, nor to cause the least embarrassment, but beg to submit to you every wish I have, and

every desire I feel, entirely acquiescing in your ideas of the propriety of what I am going to mention.

I am very desirous of a scene of business, in which I might, usefully I hope to the public, employ my time and attention. The small share of talents I have from nature are such as fit me, I believe, for active life ; and, if I know myself, I should be entirely devoted to the scene of business I was engaged in. I wish the board of trade might be thought a place in which I could be of any service. Whatever the scene is, I shall endeavour to have the reputation of acting in a manner worthy of the connection I have the honour to be in ; and, among all the chances and changes of a political world, I will never have an obligation in a parliamentary way but to Mr. Pitt and his friends.

May I mention a circumstance, of no small importance to myself? If what I have taken the liberty of hinting be the fit and proper thing, I should wish that it might take place in the interval between the two parliaments, to avoid some very disagreeable circumstances attending a re-election at Aylesbury.(¹) I desire very truly to submit

(¹) Mr. Wilkes was, a few days after, returned for Aylesbury without opposition. Besides this application for a seat at the board of trade, he made an unsuccessful one for the embassy at Constantinople, and was also disappointed in not obtaining the governorship of Canada. Wilkes's character, at this time, is thus strongly sketched by Gibbon, in his journal for the year 1762 : — " September 23. Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckingham-

every particular; only begging you would do me the justice to believe me, with the most sincere regard, Sir,

Your obliged and
devoted humble servant,
JOHN WILKES.

THE MARQUIS GRIMALDI TO THE COUNT DE
FUENTES. (1)

Paris, March 5, 1761.

THREE messengers are already dispatched to our court, in order, by degrees, to sow the seeds of an alliance with this. I will acquaint your excellency with the result. It appears to me of the utmost importance for us to assure ourselves of France, and engage her, before she makes her peace; for afterwards I do not know what inclination she may have to go to war again for our sake.

shire militia, dined at our mess. I scarcely ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humour, and a great deal of knowledge; but a thorough profligate in principle as in practice, his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency. These morals he glories in; for shame is a weakness he has long since surmounted. He told us himself, that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune. This proved a very debauched day: we drank a good deal, both after dinner and supper; and when at last Wilkes had retired, Sir Thomas Worsley and some others (of whom I was not one) broke into his room, and made him drink a bottle of claret in bed."
— *Misc. Works*, vol. i. 142.

(1) Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cipher."

I return your excellency a thousand thanks for your advices concerning the English expedition.⁽¹⁾ They are useful for the ministry here, and for our object. The Duke de Choiseul has charged me to thank your excellency in his name. Send us word of what you know. The notion of making proposals to England for a congress continues, and I believe will be executed; but, for all this, peace is not yet made.

GRIMALDI.

THE COUNT DE FUENTES TO THE MARQUIS
GRIMALDI. (2)

London, March 10, 1761.

SECRECY is of great importance; for thereupon depends that the whole be not rendered abortive. I do not understand how they are ready to offer and accept of a peace *in statu quo*, nor how this can be possible. I see that Vienna complies with an ill-will; upon which account, and of the King of Prussia, I have my difficulties.

It is certain that we have lost time; but it is likewise so, that this is our opportunity. France will lose nothing by continuing the war, if Spain enters into it, but has rather much to hope for; nor do we risk a great deal, if we assure ourselves by an alliance, stipulating that one shall not leave

(1) The expedition against Belleisle, which sailed from Spithead on the 29th of the month.

(2) Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cipher."

the other. If this is done, at the end of the year we shall have a peace to our liking and France's; who will obtain advantages, which she will never acquire by soliciting it herself. This being what they want here, in order to give law to that court.

The nation is tired, and desires peace; their not making it this winter has been a great disappointment. The ministry is embarrassed, knowing the difficulty of finding money to continue the war. All these advantages France will lose by now precipitating a peace. Choiseul knows it, but wants to discover what your excellency's instructions are; so good an opportunity is not to be lost. Mr. Pitt is not yet visible; when he is, I suppose he will confirm what he has already told me. I am fully persuaded, that only force and fear will make them do us justice. Our preparations are talked of here; but they have said nothing to me.

I suppose, that if they cause themselves to be intreated there, your excellency will, according to your instructions, know to make them believe that our taking part with them is the effect of affection and policy, and not necessity, in order to settle our pretensions with the English ministry: the one and the other being solely in his Majesty's option; as I really take to be the case. I say no more, on account of the badness of the cipher. Your excellency may be able, by means of some express, to send me one more difficult, in order that we may be able to correspond.

FUENTES.

THE COUNT DE FUENTES TO THE MARQUIS
GRIMALDI. (1)

London, March 17, 1761.

I OBSERVE the seeds your excellency has sown by the three messengers ; and I wish they may have the desired effect. But I must acquaint your excellency that upon the reports of France's desire to make peace, and upon the hopes of a congress, stocks have risen four per cent. in a few days. Whether the French ministry think seriously of peace or not, they should make believe that they are far from agreeing to a congress ; for, if this nation continues to believe that this may happen shortly, their proposals will be intolerable, considering the continuation of the rise of stocks, and their being able to get plenty of money, at low interest, in order to go on with the war.

I look upon this ministry as interested in persuading the nation that peace and a congress are at hand. Your excellency understands the reason ; and I am fully persuaded, when there is at Paris no appearance or talk of a congress, stocks will fall much more than they have rose, the difficulty of getting money will increase, and interest will be higher ; England then will be the first to desire a congress, in order to prevent those damages which France ought to make them suffer, by not hearkening to their proposals till they had been obliged to procure the money for the ex-

(1) Endorsed " translation of a letter in cipher."

penses of the next year; otherwise, France will sacrifice her interests and reputation to whatever laws England pleases to impose upon her.

It is said that the expedition will sail soon. I have nothing to add about its destination. The change of my Lord Holdernessee⁽¹⁾ will be fol-

(¹) The following is the concluding entry in Dodington's diary: — "Feb. 6. Lord Bute and I talked over Charles Townshend's being secretary at war, and Sir Francis Dashwood's succeeding him. He seemed resolved to come into administration, but not yet: he said it was very easy to make the Duke of Newcastle resign; but who was to take it? was the question. He did not seem to think it would be advisable to begin there. I replied, I saw no objection; but if he thought there was, he might put it into hands that would resign it to him, when he thought proper to take it; but that he must begin to be a public man, by taking something. He said, that Holdernessee knew nothing of what the minister was doing for these last ten days, and therefore he began to think with me, that it was possible Pitt might resign." (p. 386.) — On the 19th of March, Lord Holdernessee retired upon a pension, and Lord Bute was made secretary of state; Mr. Legge was at the same time dismissed from the chancellorship of the exchequer, and the office given to Lord Barrington; who thus writes, on the 23rd, to Mr. Mitchell: — "Our administration is at last settled: I think well settled, in the main; and my opinion is, that it will last. Our friend Holdernessee is finally in harbour: he has four thousand a year for life, with the reversionship of the cinque-ports, after the Duke of Dorset; which he likes better than having the name of pensioner. I never could myself understand the difference between a pension and a sinecure place. The same strange fortune which made me secretary of war five years and a-half ago, has made me chancellor of the exchequer; it may, perhaps, at last make me pope. I think I am equally fit to be at the head of the church, as of the exchequer. My reason tells me it would have been more proper to have given me an employment of less consequence, when I was removed from the War-office; but no man knows what is good for him. My invariable rule, therefore, is, to ask nothing, to refuse nothing;

lowed by many others ; as I informed the court, since the King's death. There is a great fermentation ; and a Scotch secretary of state will create much talk. If we behave with proper resolution, as I hope we shall — and if the court of France thinks and acts as it ought — I promise myself great satisfaction ; and the greatest of all will be to reduce this nation to proper limits, and to reason ; which they do not know. I return my compliments to our friend Choiseul, and shall do what he desires.

FUENTES.

THE COUNT DE FUENTES TO M. WALL. (1)

London, March 20, 1761.

THE rumours of peace have raised the stocks four per cent. ; but they have already sunk two, and will sink more when their hopes of peace and of a congress are vanished. If France now sues for peace, they will impose their own terms on her. This court will itself demand a congress, in order to guard against the difficulties of finding money for next year. France ought to take ad-

to let others place me, and to do my best wherever I am placed. I have the satisfaction to be perfectly well with my royal master, who deserves all love and admiration, and with the three persons whose union can alone keep this country great and happy." — *Mitchell MSS.*

(1) Endorsed, " translation of a letter in cipher."

vantage of this opportunity, in order to better her situation, by not hearkening till she has occasioned England these distresses.

If peace be deferred, party divisions will produce a civil war here ; and thus France will improve her condition. If she will not know this, which I much doubt, these circumstances will be favourable to us ; for I am every day more and more convinced, that this is the best opportunity for us to obtain justice, and reduce the nation to its due limits. If France continues the war, we shall be able to operate more at our ease : however, the blow will not be less certain, if the king is willing to strike it alone.

Mr. Pitt is not visible ; I believe he wants to gain time, to see the effect of France's declaration. Your excellency need not doubt of his union with my Lord Bute ; and that the present changes have been made with his privity. The blow is levelled at the Duke of Newcastle, and his party. Your excellency will foresee the consequences of this, and of the fermentation which already exists ⁽¹⁾, better than myself.

FUENTES.

⁽¹⁾ In the early part of the month, some serious commotions had taken place in several of the northern counties, in consequence of the expiration of the three years' term of service, prescribed by the Militia Act, and the new ballot about to take place. At Hexham the mob killed an officer and three of the Yorkshire militia ; who, in return, fired, and shot forty.

M. DE BOUGAINVILLE TO MR. PITT.

A` Paris, ce 25^e Mars, 1761.

MONSIEUR,

LES hommages rendus sous votre ministère à la mémoire de M. Wolfe⁽¹⁾ me sont un garant que vous ne désapprouverez pas les efforts que fait la reconnaissance des troupes Françaises qui ont servi en Canada, pour perpétuer le souvenir du Marquis de Montcalm⁽²⁾, leur général. Son corps est enhumé à Quebec.

J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer une épitaphe que l'Academie des Inscriptions de Paris a faites pour lui. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien l'examiner ; et, si vous n'y trouvez rien à reprendre, de me faire obtenir la permission de l'envoyer à

(1) By the rough draught, in his hand-writing, it appears that the following inscription, on Wolfe's monument in Westminster Abbey, was penned by Mr. Pitt: — " To the memory of James Wolfe, Esq., major-general and commander-in-chief of the British landforces, on an expedition against Quebec ; who, surmounting by ability and valour all obstacles of art and nature, was slain in the moment of victory, at the head of his conquering troops, on the 13th of September, 1759: the King and the Parliament dedicate this monument."

(2) The Marquis de Montcalm was sent out to Canada in 1756, as commander-in-chief of the French-American colonies. He fell in the battle of Quebec, shortly after Wolfe, and was conveyed into the town ; whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the humanity of the British nation. Throughout the war in America, the marquis had performed the highest services to his country, and perfectly supported his reputation in this last scene of his life.

Quebec, gravée sur un marbre, qui soit posé sur la tombe du Marquis de Montcalm. En cas que cette permission nous soit accordée, oserois-je vous supplier, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de me faire savoir, et de m'envoyer en même tems un passeport, pour que le marbre soit reçu à bord d'un vaisseau Anglois, et que Monsieur Murray, gouverneur de Quebec, permette qu'il y soit placé dans l'église des Urselines.

Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur, de vous détourner pour un objet étranger à vos importantes occupations, mais c'est vous rendre hommage que de chercher à immortaliser les hommes illustres et les grands citoyens. Je suis avec respect, Monsieur,

Votre très-humble et
très-obéissant serviteur,
DE BOUGAINVILLE. (1)

(1) Jean-Pierre de Bougainville was secretary to the French Academy of Inscriptions. He published a translation of Cardinal de Polignac's "Anti-Lucretius," wrote many able papers in the memoirs of the Academy, and died in 1763, at the age of forty-one, of asthma, brought on by intense application. His brother, Louis-Antoine, the celebrated circumnavigator, who had been Montcalm's aide-de-camp, retired from the service in 1790. He was afterwards made a count and senator by Buonaparte, became member of the national institute, and of the royal society of London, and closed his long and useful career at Paris, in 1811, at the age of eighty-two. A translation of his "Voyage autour du Monde" was published in London, in 1772.

MR. PITT TO M. DE BOUGAINVILLE.

A` Londres, ce 10^{me} Avril, 1761.

MONSIEUR,

CE m'est une vraie satisfaction de pouvoir vous envoyer l'agrément du Roi, sur un sujet aussi intéressant qu'est l'Epitaphe ⁽¹⁾, qui est d'une beauté achevée, que l'Académie des Inscriptions de Paris a faite pour M. le Marquis de Montcalm, et qu'on désire d'envoyer à Québec, gravée sur un marbre, qui doit être posé sur la tombe de cet illustre militaire. On ne peut qu'applaudir à la noblesse de sentimens des troupes Françaises qui ont servi en Canada, en voulant rendre un pareil tribut à la mémoire de leur général, qu'elles ont vu mourir à leur tête, d'une manière digne d'elles et de lui-même.

Je me ferai un plaisir, Monsieur, de faciliter, en toutes choses, d'intentions si respectables ; et d'abord qu'on me fera savoir les arrangemens qu'on aura pris pour faire embarquer ce marbre, je ne manquerai pas de vous faire parvenir aussitôt le passeport que vous désirez, et d'envoyer au gouverneur de Québec les ordres pour sa réception.

Au reste, Monsieur, je vous supplie d'être persuadé de ma juste sensibilité sur ce qu'il y a de si obligeant, à mon sujet, dans la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré, et de croire que je saisis comme un

(1) For a copy of the epitaph, see *Annual Register*, vol. v. p 267.

bonheur l'occasion de vous témoigner les sentimens d'estime et de considération distinguées avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

W. PITT.

THE COUNT DE FUENTES TO M. WALL. ⁽¹⁾

London, March 27, 1761.

THE troops for the expedition are embarking, which, with the addition of Loudon's regiment, will, I believe, make more than seven thousand men. They will probably sail soon, if the wind permits; and though it is generally said they are going to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, there seem to be too many troops for this object. It is said they will carry with them some flat-bottomed boats, which are getting ready; but this precaution does not tally with that of the ships having been sheathed: perhaps it may be only a blind, in order to deceive. Recruits are sending in all haste to Germany, to complete the troops there; but the greater part has been draughted from the regiments here, which are left very weak.

My Lord Bute's new employment has discontented many; though they dissemble. It is not possible it can last long, on account of the circumstance of his country, of the events which may happen in the present crisis, and because

(¹) Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cypher."

Mr. Pitt will not care to cease to be absolute, nor my Lord Bute to depend upon him, as he is in such favour with the King. Perhaps their having flattered themselves too much with the speedy effect of France's declarations concerning peace may have anticipated these changes prematurely. The Duke of Newcastle and his party are persuaded that Mr. Pitt and my Lord Bute have united, in order to demolish him, and form their own. The putting my Lord Talbot into the Duke of Rutland's place is believed to be the work of the Princess of Wales, of whom they speak with too much liberty. (')

(') On the 21st of the month, Lord Talbot was created an earl, and on the 25th appointed steward of the household. In Dodington's Diary of the 16th of *January*, there is the following curious entry: — "Lord Bute came to me, and said that he was now sure that Pitt had no thoughts of abandoning the continent, and that he was madder than ever. He was uneasy with Talbot, as he would have put the steward's staff in Talbot's hands the first day, if he could: that he had heard that Talbot thought Granby could persuade his father to quit it: that Talbot would make an excellent officer to reform that most corrupt office: that in whatever he should do for his friends, he should always, at the same time, consider the service of his master and of the public. I pressed him much for Talbot; to which he replied, that he had marks of all the distinctions that were going; the council accepted, and refused; in the promotions of peerage, an earldom: that he perceived Talbot meant a place of more consequence than he (Bute) wished; he was sorry for it, for he was violent, and would be impracticable in business. He said that Henley owed his being made chancellor, from keeper, entirely to him; and that he had brought Henley's letter to show me. I begged him to preserve that letter, as well as some others he had shown me, properly labelled and tied up; for the ingratitude of mankind might make it of use to have

I believe Mr. Pitt, by avoiding seeing me, endeavours to gain time, either in order to wait the result of his messenger to my Lord Bristol, or the effect of the rumours of peace; flattering us now, in order to make fools of us afterwards, when they are persuaded we shall not talk so big. I have not seen Mr. Pitt since the audience I demanded of him when I dispatched my messenger.

FUENTES.

THE KING OF PRUSSIA TO MR. PITT.

[From the original in the King's handwriting.]

[Without place or date. ⁽¹⁾]

MONSIEUR,

JE viens de recevoir une dépêche de mes ministres à Londres, qui m'a fait soupçonner quelque mésentendu de leur part. J'ai cru qu'il était à propos de m'expliquer immédiatement avec vous, Monsieur, pour rectifier le faux sens qu'ils ont donné aux déclarations que vous et M. Bute leur ont faites.

preserved them. He smiled, and said he had already found it so: he said, that to those who had proposed to him to unite with the Duke of Newcastle upon conditions, he had said, he would agree to no conditions till he saw Talbot, Dashwood, and Charles Townshend had such places as he wished."

(¹) Addressed, "à Monsieur le Chevalier de Pitt, ministre et secrétaire d'état de sa Majesté le Roi de la Grande Bretagne, à Londres.

Voici les reflexions qui se sont présentées à mon esprit : comment, me suis-je dit, est il possible que la nation Anglaise me propose de faire des cessions à mes ennemis ; elle qui m'a garanti mes possessions par des actes authentiques, qui subsistent, et qui sont connus de tout le monde ? Comment consilier deux choses aussi opposées ? Il faut donc de nécessité qu'il y ait de l'erreur de la part de mes ministres, et il faut la dissiper.

Je me suis ensuite rappelé la conduite que la Grande Bretagne a tenue avec ses alliés, et je n'y ai trouvé aucun exemple d'infidélité à ses engagements. L'Angleterre n'abandonna point la Maison d'Autriche par la paix d'Utrecht. La guerre qui la précéda avoit été entreprise pour soutenir la balance de l'Europe, et empêcher que ni la Maison de Bourbon ni celle d'Autriche devinssent des puissances prépondérantes. La mort de l'Empereur Joseph changea le cas de la question. Dès lors il étoit aussi dangereux pour l'Europe que Charles VI. réunit la monarchie Espagnole aux possessions de la Maison d'Autriche, et à la dignité de la Maison Impériale, que de voir passer la succession de l'Espagne au petit fils de Louis XIV. ; et la Reine Anne, en faisant sa paix particulière, loin d'abandonner les intérêts de la Maison d'Autriche, lui procura la Flandre, le Milanais, et le royaume de Naples. Dans la dernière paix, les Anglais ont sacrifiés leur propres intérêts à ceux de la Reine de Hongrie ; et ils ont rendu le Fort Louis aux

Français, pour que les Français lui restituassent la Flandre.

Dans la guerre que nous faisons, l'état de la question n'a pas changé ; et je ne pense pas, Monsieur, qu'un politique en Europe puisse imaginer ou craindre, que la Prusse devienne une puissance prépondérante. Vous n'ignorez pas la cause de l'animosité que la France me témoigne, et vous savez sans doute, Monsieur, qu'elle vient de ce que j'ai préféré votre alliance à la sienne. Si j'ai prévenu les desseins de la Reine de Hongrie et de mes ennemis, c'est que j'ai été instruit de ses projets, c'est que j'en avais les pièces authentiques en main, et c'est poursuivre cet axiome connu, *prevenire quam preveniri*. Sans doute, tout homme, pour peu raisonnable qu'il soit, ne donnera pas le tems à ses ennemis d'arranger tranquillement tout ce qu'il faut pour l'accabler, et qu'il prendra les devans pour se mettre dans l'avantage. Je n'ai pas toujours été heureux ; et quel homme dans l'univers peut disposer de la fortune ? Cependant, malgré le nombre de mes ennemis, je suis encore en possession d'une partie de la Saxe, et je suis très résolu de ne la céder qu'à conditions que les Autrichiens, les Russes, et les Français ne m'ayent rendus tout ce qu'ils m'ont pris.

Je me conduis par deux principes ; l'un est l'honneur, et l'autre l'intérêt de l'état que le ciel m'a donné à gouverner. Les loix que ces principes me prescrivent sont premièrement de ne

jamais faire d'action dont j'eusse à rougir, si je devais en rendre compte à mon peuple ; et le second, de sacrifier pour le bien et la gloire de ma patrie la dernière goutte de mon sang. Avec ces maximes, Monsieur, on ne cède jamais à ses ennemis ; avec ces maximes Rome se soutint contre Hannibal, après la bataille de Cannes ; avec ces maximes votre grande Reine Elisabet se soutint contre Philip II., et contre la flotte invincible ; par ces mêmes principes Gustave Wasa, dont le nom mérite d'être cité à côté de celui de la Reine Elisabet, — Gustave Wasa, dis-je, rétablit la Suède, et chassa le tyran Christian du royaume ; et c'est par une même magnanimité des princes d'Orange, qu'à force de valeur et de persévérance ils fondèrent la république des Provinces Unies.

Voilà, Monsieur, les modèles que je me suis proposé de suivre. Vous, qui avez de la grandeur et de l'élévation dans l'âme, désapprouvez mon choix si vous le pouvez. Serait-ce donc l'Angleterre, me suis-je dit, qui plaiderait la cause de la France et de la Reine de Hongrie, de ces Français, ses éternels ennemis, de cette Reine de Hongrie, qui l'a payée de tant d'ingratitude, — cela n'est pas possible ; donc cela n'est point. C'est sur les commencemens des règnes des rois que toute l'Europe a les yeux ouverts ; on juge par ces prémices quels en seront les suites, et chacun en tire les conséquences. Le Roi d'Angleterre n'a qu'à choisir ; il en est le maître : deux partis se présentent à lui ; l'un que, dans la négociation de

la paix, il ne pense qu'aux intérêts de l'Angleterre, et oublie ceux de ses alliés ; l'autre, qu'en consultant ses engagements, sa bonne foi, et sa gloire, il joigne aux soins qu'il prendra des intérêts de sa nation celui de pourvoir au bien de ses alliés. S'il prend le premier parti, je ne me souviendrai pas moins avec reconnaissance, que la nation Anglaise m'a généreusement assisté pendant cette guerre, quoi qu'il me sera douloureux de penser, que j'ai fait des acquisitions étant l'allié de la France, et que l'étant de l'Angleterre j'ai été dépouillé par mes ennemis. Si le Roi prend le second parti, j'ajouterai aux obligations que je lui dois une vive reconnoissance de sa religion et de sa bonne foi à remplir ses engagements, et de sa persévérance à soutenir ses fidèles alliés ; et la posterité, qui juge les Rois, le comblera de bénédictions.

Je suis persuadé, Monsieur, que vous pensez comme moi. Tout le cours de votre ministère n'a été qu'un enchainement d'actions nobles et généreuses, et les âmes que le ciel a fait de cette trempe ne se démentent pas : c'est en conséquence de ces sentimens, que toute l'Europe admire en vous, et dont j'ai eu plus d'une occasion de me louer, que je suis, avec autant de confiance que d'estime,

Monsieur, votre très-affectionné ami,

FREDERIC.

MR. PITT TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

[Without date.]

SIRE,

ASPIRANT sans cesse au point que je le fais, à la gloire d'admirer et de servir votre Majesté, je la supplie d'agréer que je mette à ses pieds les hommages de mon respect et de ma reconnaissance, et que je tâche d'exprimer combien je suis touché des expressions de condescendance et de bonté infinie, à mon sujet, que renferme la lettre dont votre Majesté a daigné m'honorer de sa main. Ma gloire est à son comble, si elle ne discontinue pas de m'accorder son suffrage, et mon bonheur sera complet, si mes actions, ni mes discours ne reçoivent jamais auprès de V. M. une interprétation différente de ce que le zèle le plus pur et l'attachement le plus invariable me dictent. Il est vrai, Sire, qu'il y a eu des momens où ce zèle et cet attachement m'ont fait trembler pour les états et pour le salut du plus invincible Monarque. Plût à Dieu que ces momens fussent entièrement passés, et que je pûsse dire, avec la sincérité d'un vrai serviteur de V. M., que ces inquiétudes fussent encore dissipées !

Mais c'est trop détourner V. M. sur les sentimens d'un particulier, qui, comme tel, sent tout son néant. Au reste, Sire, la constance du Roi mon maître à soutenir ses alliés est trop connue de ses

ennemis, et trop respectée de toute l'Europe, pour qu'il soit nécessaire ou convenable de la déployer par des paroles ; d'autant que les âmes héroïques se rendent toujours justice, et que V. M. sentira bien mieux que je ne le saurais dire, l'étendue de l'amitié et de la fermeté du Roi. Je suis avec le plus profond respect, Sire, de votre Majesté, &c.

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF GRANVILLE ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Sunday, April 5, 1761.

LORD GRANVILLE presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt, and thanks him for the communication

(¹) John Carteret, earl of Granville, was born in 1690, and educated at Christchurch, Oxford ; whence, according to Swift, "he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than properly became a person of his rank." In 1719, he was sent ambassador to Denmark ; in 1721, on the death of Craggs, he was made secretary of state ; and in 1724, lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On the removal of Sir Robert Walpole in 1742, he was re-appointed secretary of state ; which office he resigned in 1744. In 1746, on the attempt to form a new ministry, with the Earl of Bath at its head, Lord Granville again succeeded in obtaining the seals of office ; which, however, he was compelled almost immediately after to resign,—“ the new administration,” according to a *jeu d'esprit*, intitled ‘A History of the Long Administration,’ having lasted only “ forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds ; which,” continues the historian, “ may be truly called the most wise and most honest of all administrations ; the minister having, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing, and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the treasury as he found in it.”

of his answer to the Duc de Choiseul, together with the draught of the Memorial.⁽¹⁾

Neither of those draughts can, in my judgment, be mended ; and when this great affair comes out into the world, every person of candour will agree to impute the happy setting out of this great affair, as well as the success of it, which God grant, to the right author ; whose spirit, and perseverance, and judgment, under some discouragements, to my own knowledge, have produced this salutary work.

Ever yours,

GRANVILLE.

THE EARL OF BUTE⁽²⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday morn. [April 14, 1761.]

SIR,

INTENDING to call upon you this morning, I this minute learn you are gone to the country. I must therefore give you this trouble to acquaint you, that

In 1751, the earl was appointed president of the council ; a situation which he retained till his death, in January, 1763. " His person," says Walpole, " was handsome, open, and engaging ; his eloquence at once rapid and pompous, and, by the mixture, a little bombast. He was an extensive scholar, master of classic criticism, and of all modern politics."

(¹) For copies of the letter and memorial, see *Parliamentary History*, vol. xv. p. 1026.

(²) On the 25th of March, Lord Bute had been sworn in one of the principal secretaries of state, and taken his place at the council board.

Lord Egremont⁽¹⁾ was with me yesterday, and, in a very handsome and respectful manner to his Majesty, expressed a wish to be employed at the future congress. I assured his lordship I would lay his request before the King, and that I could, in the mean time, assure him that, by the manner I had heard both the Duke of Newcastle and you talk of him, I had reason to think his lordship's nomination would be as agreeable to you as to myself. As the Duke of Newcastle seems to point to Sir Joseph Yorke, there remains only one to consider of. I should be extremely pleased to hear that you had thought of any proper person. I protest I know none; and the Duke of Newcastle is hitherto silent upon it. I had a letter from Mr. Ellis, whom I am little acquainted with, to offer himself.⁽²⁾ I congratulate you, Sir, on Lord

(1) Sir Charles Wyndham, Bart., son of the celebrated Sir William Wyndham, chancellor of the exchequer in the reign of Queen Anne; whom speaker Onslow considered "the most made for a great man of any one he had ever known," and whose character has been handed down to posterity by Pope —

"How can I Pult'ney, Chesterfield forget,
While Roman spirit charms, or Attic wit;
Or Wyndham, just to freedom and the throne,
The master of our passions, and his own."

Upon the demise of his uncle, Algernon, Duke of Somerset, without male issue, Sir Charles succeeded, in 1750, to the earldom of Egremont and barony of Cockermouth. On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, in October 1761, he was appointed secretary of state, and died of an apoplectic fit in August 1763.

(2) The three plenipotentiaries finally nominated were Lord Egremont, Sir Joseph Yorke, and Lord Stormont, the British ambassador in Poland.

Granby's safe arrival⁽¹⁾, and on things wearing rather a better aspect. I am, Sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient
humble servant,
BUTE.

HANS STANLEY, ESQ.⁽²⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Charlton, April 18, 1761.

SIR,

LORD TEMPLE mentioned to me yesterday a very great honour you had done me, in recollecting my name among those of others, who may, in some capacity, be useful on a future occasion. I should,

(1) The Marquis of Granby arrived in town from the army in Germany, on the morning of this day. On the 1st of May, he was appointed lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and returned to his command on the 25th.

(2) Mr. Stanley was the grandson of the celebrated Sir Hans Sloane, president of the college of physicians. At this time, he was one of the lords of the admiralty, and member for the town of Southampton. In 1766, he was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of Petersburg; in 1770, governor of the Isle of Wight; and in 1776, cofferer of the household. He died, unmarried, in 1780; by which event, his beautiful seat of Poultons, in the New Forest, became the property of his sister, married to the right hon. Welbore Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip. Lady Hervey, in her letters (p. 204.), describes him as "a very ingenious, sensible, knowing, conversable, and, what is still better, a worthy, honest, valuable man." He was a trustee of the British Museum, and member of several learned societies. In a note to Pope's Temple of Fame, Dr. Warton states Mr. Stanley to have been "as accurately skilled in modern as in ancient Greek."

Sir, be excusable for troubling you with this letter, even if I had no other motive than my desire of assuring you, that nothing could give me more real satisfaction than your favourable opinion of me. I hope I shall not offend if I presume still farther, in making use of this opportunity, to explain to you my thoughts upon the subject.

I did once, as you may possibly remember, intend offering my services in the department of foreign affairs; but as no person was then sent to the court for which I was designed, and as I was during that interval re-elected into parliament, I engaged myself in a different course of business. The plan I had once proposed for myself being thus totally altered, I laid aside any views relative to that branch of public affairs, till the incident I have just mentioned suggested what I now take the liberty of imparting to you.

I feel how disagreeable, and I know how ungraceful, it is to speak of oneself; but as I have received so high an encouragement as that of finding myself at all in your thoughts, I hope you will not conclude that I am guilty of vanity, if I say that my application to the law of nations, as well as to the understanding of their various treaties, interests, and pretensions, has been neither merely occasional, nor entirely superficial. As I have been several times in France, and once resided two years at Paris, I not only possess their language with sufficient readiness and accuracy, but I have had opportunities of being introduced

to their men of business, of cultivating useful acquaintance, and of acquiring some information with regard to that country. I can even flatter myself, that I was considered there with some degree of esteem ; and, as a proof that this opinion is not founded merely upon my own imagination, I shall mention, that when I went there for a few weeks, just before the breaking out of the war, I was applied to by their ministry, as a person with whom they would choose to confer on the state of affairs between us and them, and was offered a communication of the papers that had passed between the two courts.

If, in the course of any future negotiations that may possibly occur with France, you should, Sir, for these, or any other reasons, be disposed to employ me there, with or without a public character, I shall be ready to undertake that office, with the confidence of a man who conceives himself to be not wholly unqualified, and I shall very zealously attach and devote myself to those ideas you suggest to me.

I am the more emboldened to open myself to you, Sir, in this manner, because those who know the nature of these commissions cannot be ignorant, that they are not to be sought from any hope of emolument ; though, at the same time, I confess myself not to be indifferent to a step wherein, by my secrecy, fidelity, and diligence, I may obtain your esteem, and the favour of my sovereign. I know, Sir, that an employment of this importance

ought neither to be asked, nor to be conferred, as a personal favour. I shall not at all repine at seeing it committed to other hands. I think myself already highly obliged to you, for having thought of me: I shall be still more so, for the continuance of the same good opinion.

I have nothing to add, but that I shall remain entirely silent upon this subject, till I receive any orders with which you may think proper to honour me.

I am, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obedient,
most humble servant,
H. STANLEY. (1)

SIR JAMES GRAY (2) TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Naples, May 19, 1761.

SIR,

THE Marquis Tenucci (3) tells me, that his Catholic Majesty writes him, that he thinks himself hardly treated in the negotiation of Honduras, particularly

(1) On the 24th of May, Mr. Stanley was sent to Paris, on the part of the King of England, to treat of the preliminaries of peace.

(2) British envoy-extraordinary at the court of Naples. In 1767, Sir James was appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid, and remained there till 1770. While attending the levee at St. James's, on the 10th of January 1773, he was seized with a fit, and died on the following morning.

(3) See p. 40.

by the refusing to give a more satisfactory answer than that contained in the letter to the Earl of Bristol ; the adhering to which measure he ascribes entirely to your influence in council, the Conde de Fuentes having written him, that having by order pressed you for a different answer, you had said, with some warmth, “ that if it depended upon you, no other answer should be given ;” that although he, his Catholic Majesty, had caused several confidential communications to be made through the Marquis Tenucci, “ the surest channel he could make use of to convey his thoughts,” (these the Marquis assured me are the words of his Catholic Majesty) no notice had been taken of them ; which convinced him, that you have some dislike to him and his alliance, and that he has little to hope from the friendship of England during your ministry ; that your intentions seemed to be, to delay adjusting those differences till the peace, which he should look upon as a denial.

The Marquis, after telling me the above, said he was persuaded, could he have the honour of an hour’s talk with you, he could convince you of the expediency of finishing forthwith the affair of Honduras, and entering into a closer union with Spain ; that otherwise you will leave a door open to France, who will certainly endeavour to unite with Spain after the peace, when he supposes there will be an end of the alliance between the courts of Vienna and Versailles. I am thoroughly persuaded of the Marquis Tenucci’s sincere desire to

see the most perfect harmony and friendship established between England and Spain, and that he will co-operate willingly towards it, and certainly can ; having undoubtedly a greater share than any of the Spanish ministers in the confidence of his Catholic Majesty, who has the highest opinion of his probity, capacity, and zeal for his service.

I trust, Sir, you will pardon the frankness with which I have related the sentiments of the King of Spain. I well know that the frowns or smiles of princes will avail nothing with you, where the public good is concerned ; but if the monarch is in an error, as I have taken the liberty to insist that he is, these lights, I flatter myself, may be of use in your future transactions with that court. I am, with great truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and

most obedient humble servant,

J. GRAY.

MR. PITT TO SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON.

[May —, 1761.]

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM happy in being able to convey to you a proof how much your health interests your friends here, and to be authorised to let you understand that merit, though absent, is not out of the thoughts of the most gracious of sovereigns and

masters. The messenger who will deliver you this letter was the bearer of Mr. Mackenzie's⁽¹⁾ letters of revocation; and this vacancy at that court bringing into consideration subjects fit to fill so critical and important a commission naturally suggested, amongst others, the name of Sir Richard Lyttelton, and excited the warmest wishes that the state of your health might be such as would leave you susceptible of such a competent degree of corporeal activity, as might suffice for the discharge of such an employment.

I should not do justice to Lord Bute, if I left you ignorant of his friendly proceeding on this occasion; and I can truly assure you, that the gracious manner in which the King was pleased to permit me to make this inquiry as to the state of your health, was accompanied with such expressions of goodness on your subject, as can leave me, as your friend, nothing to wish, but that you may be

(¹) The Hon. James Stuart Mackenzie, brother of the Earl of Bute. In 1758, he succeeded Lord Bristol as envoy-extraordinary to the court of Turin. Shortly after his return to England, in August 1761, he was appointed lord privy seal for Scotland; which he resigned in 1765, and in the following year was re-appointed for life. His secretary, M. Dutens, in his "*Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose*," thus describes him:—"He was humane, charitable, and generous; he possessed considerable talents, and much information: his manners were dignified, yet affable, and in company he was cheerful and pleasant; he was not fond of the pleasures of high life, but preferred the application of his time to the study of the sciences." He married Lady Betty Mackenzie, daughter of John, Duke of Argyle, and died in 1800.

able to send me a satisfactory account of your health by the return of this messenger.

I would not presage any thing unfavourable to my warmest wish ; but should lameness as yet continue to disable you from the present commission, you have the consolation to know, that you live in the mind of his Majesty for some other agreeable occasion, when your health shall be better restored ; which will not be long, if the wishes and vows of true friendship can prevail. I am, &c.,

W. PITT.

SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Leghorn, June 17, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING inclosed my most dutiful and sincere acknowledgments to his Majesty, for the great honour he has been pleased to do me, in the gracious offer ⁽¹⁾ of succeeding Mr. Mackenzie at Turin, I beg leave to return you my warmest and most grateful thanks for again thinking of me upon this occasion ; but as I know your extreme delicacy, I will only say, that to have been thought worthy of filling so important a situation at a juncture so critical as this must be, and to receive so eminent a mark of Mr. Pitt's friendship and esteem, is more glorious to me, and will do more

(¹) Which offer Sir Richard declined, on the ground of ill health.

honour to me, both now and hereafter, than the most ambitious wish of my heart could ever have aspired to.

Allow me, dear Sir, to congratulate you on the birth of your son ⁽¹⁾: great and fortunate I hope they will all be, and dear to their country; happy, at least, in having such a father. Adieu, dear Sir, and believe me ever entirely yours,

RICHARD LYTTELTON.

HANS STANLEY, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Paris, June 9, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I SHALL be very happy to know, by a single line from you, that my proceedings are such as you approve. I have nothing more at heart. You will yourself judge better than I can of the sincerity shown here, by comparing what I have sent you with M. de Bussy's conduct. ⁽²⁾ I think I can be very sure, that a peace is here the general wish of the people; it is most excessively wanted.

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Pitt's third son, James Charles, born April 24, 1761.

⁽²⁾ M. de Bussy, contrary to arrangements expressly agreed upon, did not reach Calais till two days after Mr. Stanley had arrived there; a circumstance which produced so unpleasant an impression on the mind of Mr. Pitt, that he instructed Mr. Stanley to suspend the delivery of his credentials, until the Duc de Choiseul had disowned the proceeding of his agent.

The Duc de Choiseul has been informed by some persons, that you are ill-disposed to it. I assured him, that I had heard your ideas upon that subject very fully; that there was nothing in them, but what appeared to me reasonable and practicable; that I spoke to him very much according to your opinions; and that I believed he did not think I advanced any thing I could not show by fair reasons to be candid and equitable. He expressed, both in words and in his looks, great satisfaction at these assurances.

I took thence an opportunity of saying to him, that besides your unblemished probity, it was the interest of every established minister to wish for a settled state of affairs; that war, and the extraordinary changes produced by those incidents which often attend it, were rather for the advantage of ambitious adventurers after power than of those who actually possessed it. I reasoned upon more ancient and late instances, both in their ministry and our own; to all which discourse he gave a deep and most serious attention. His note, which I enclose to you, will at least show that he thinks me worthy his notice. The Duchess of Grammont⁽¹⁾, his sister, told me to-day, that he had

⁽¹⁾ Beatrix de Choiseul-Stainville,—born in 1730, married in 1759 to the Duc de Grammont, and distinguished at the courts of Louis the Fifteenth and Sixteenth for the affability of her manners, her obliging disposition, and her excellent mental qualities—was one of the numerous victims of the revolutionary government. Being, in April 1794, dragged, with her friend the Duchesse de Chastelet, before the bloody tribunal, she gave, to

been greatly struck with my conversation. She does the honours of his house, and showed me all the real preferences: ceremonies were for their excellencies, but I had her company, while they were staring on us at a distance. I could see that MM. Stahremberg and Grimaldi⁽¹⁾ are extremely uneasy. The Duc de Choiseul has expressed himself very highly pleased with me. In all other respects, few things have equalled my reception. Ladies of the first quality have called to visit me. I am courted, caressed, and invited on all sides.

I do not think it will be impracticable for me to comply with the second clause of the ninth article of my instructions⁽²⁾; but I must represent to

the interrogatories of Fouquier Tinville, this affecting reply: — “Que ma mort soit décidée, cela ne m'étonne pas: j'ai, en quelque sorte, occupé l'attention du public; et quoique je ne me sois jamais mêlée d'aucune affaire depuis le commencement de la révolution, mes principes et ma manière de penser sont connus: mais,” continued she, pointing to her friend, “pour cet ange, en quoi vous a-t-elle offensé; elle qui n'a jamais fait tort à personne, et dont la vie entière n'offre qu'un tableau de vertu et de bienfaisance?” Both were led from the tribunal to the scaffold.

(1) The Austrian and Spanish ambassadors.

(2) “You will give a watchful attention to the conduct and motions of the Spanish ambassador, and of all matters which may be of consequence and worthy our knowledge.” That the conduct of M. de Bussy, while in this country, was regarded with suspicion, and that his motions were, in consequence, pretty narrowly watched, appears evident by the following reports made to the secretary of state, endorsed “Movements of M. de Bussy:” —

“Tuesday, July 14. — At ten o'clock went (the Bourdeaux merchant being with him) to a merchant in Throgmorton-

you, that the executing it to any real effect will be attended with a vast expense. You are to consider whether it is worth it. I am, with the most affectionate respect,

Your obliged, obedient humble servant,

H. STANLEY. ⁽¹⁾

street, left a card, — then to Coleman-street to one Mr. Bryan's — thence to a paper-hanging shop in Holborn, — thence to a shop in Chandos-street, — thence to a cabinet-maker's, the corner of Newport-street, Long Acre, — then to a milliner's across the way, — thence home, where he dined. At seven in the evening, went to M. Borel, (the new Dutch ambassador) at Whitehall, staid about ten minutes, — thence to Russell's the toy-shop, staid about half an hour, — then to the Countess of Yarmouth's, staid there two hours, — and so home.

“Wednesday, July 15. — About ten o'clock went to the Duke of Newcastle's office, staid there an hour and came home. — Between twelve and one went to Brompton to Lady Browne's, who was not at home, — then to her town-house in Upper Brook-street, but not at home there, — then went home and dined. At eight in the evening went to Mr. Cleland's, but not at home, — thence to Baron Hop's (the Dutch ambassador), staid two hours, and then home.”

⁽¹⁾ A letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, of the 9th of June, contains the following passages: —

“The Duchesse d'Aiguillon is most grateful for his Majesty's gracious condescensions in favour of the convent founded by her ancestors at Quebec. She has recommended to my care some holy oils, to be used in the sacraments at Canada. If they reach you, I do not doubt of their being treated with that respect which she deserves, and which even a mistaken religion has a right to claim.

“Since the affair of Damien, the King has never been easy in his mind. If, when he is hunting, or on any occasion, he meets a person whom he is not used to see, he starts, and is extremely agitated. The Jesuits are charged by the vulgar as promoters of that attempt. The Dauphin is esteemed much

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Sunday, past 4. [June 14, 1761.]

LORD BUTE presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt, and most heartily returns him the sincerest felicitations on this new and glorious event.⁽¹⁾ Bussy seems in this, as on every other point, to have received instructions of a very different nature from the sentiments expressed by Choiseul to Mr. Stanley; but, in all probability, the minister and his deputy will soon hold a more corresponding language.⁽²⁾

attached to that society; which does not make him beloved, as they are generally hated.

"The Pretender's eldest son is drunk as soon as he rises, and is always senselessly so at night, when his servants carry him to bed. He is not thought of, even by the exiles."

(¹) The expedition which had sailed from Spithead, on the 29th of March (the fleet under the command of Commodore Keppel, and the land forces under that of General Hodgson) arrived off Belleisle on the 7th of April, and on the following day attempted a landing; but, after several desperate efforts, were compelled to desist. A second attempt was made on the 25th, when they effected a landing, and commenced the siege of the fort with vigour; the garrison, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Croix, threatening on their side a long and obstinate defence: but, debarred by the British fleet from any communication with the continent, and pressed on all sides, the chevalier, on the 7th of June, capitulated, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

(²) It appears by a letter from Mr. Pitt to Mr. Stanley, that M. de Bussy had this morning stated that his court expected that England, "*sans préalable et sans compensation*," should restore Belleisle.

THE HON. COMMODORE KEPPEL ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

(*Private.*)

Valiant, Belleisle Road, June 18, 1761.

SIR,

I HOPE I have not said too much in my public letter, as the whole I meant was to show the situation of the enemy, as well as the King's forces in these parts. By the reduction of Belleisle you have effectually roused France in every part of it, and I cannot help thinking they feel themselves so hurt and dishonoured, that they will risk their ships and every thing to wipe it off. That once a resolution of the court of France, can they expect at any time to do it with less advantage to themselves than at present? Before Brest they may fight upon equal terms. If they chance to escape the King's ships there, they may, if they time

(¹) Second son of William-Anne Keppel, second earl of Albemarle. He entered the sea service when very young, and, after a series of gallant exploits, was in 1760 made colonel of the Plymouth division of marines. On the conquest of Belleisle being concerted, he was nominated to the command of the squadron appointed for the cover of the siege, and, sailing from Spithead on the 29th of March, contributed by his prudence and bravery to the reduction of the citadel of Palais, the capital of that island. He afterwards rose to the highest honours in his profession; and in 1782, as a reward for his brilliant services, was created Viscount Keppel, and appointed first lord of the admiralty. He died unmarried, in October, 1786. "I ever looked on Lord Keppel," says Burke, in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford, "as one of the greatest and best men of the age, and I loved and cultivated him accordingly: he was much in my heart, and I believe I was in his to the very last beat."

their business and are *lucky*, be with our squadron at Basque road at the spring tides, when their ships in Rochefort are pushing out. This fortunate junction for them would very probably prove unfortunate for the King's squadron there; but as every thing is now situated and appears, I think it would be disreputable to withdraw the squadron, upon a supposition of what may happen. I wish it could be supported and made up sixteen ships. I have, to enable Sir Thomas Stanhope to give the enemy a good reception, reduced myself to eight sail, two of which ships I have just sent to look into the Vilaine, where the enemy have two ready, and are endeavouring to make three others fit.

I hope the disposition I have made of the force under my command will be thought well of. Time must show what the enemy intend; and I trust every part will be re-enforced, that nothing may be left to chance that can be provided against.

I am, Sir, with respect,

your most obedient servant,

A. KEPPEL.

MR. PITT TO LADY HESTER PITT.

July 2, 1761.

MY DEAREST LIFE,

I HAVE gone through the labours of the *corps diplomatique* from ten this morning till past two, and

am not at all the worse for the sweat of my brow. I have just received an epistle from Pam ⁽¹⁾, with a continuation of good accounts from the nursery. All are in perfect health. I propose to see them to-morrow evening, and to devote Saturday to children and to hay-making; and I hope Sunday will prove a day of rest from business — a day of impatience, but of a sweeter kind, it is sure to prove, big with the dear expectation of receiving again my delight and comfort on Monday. The enclosed note to Lord Temple you will be so good as to deliver to him. My compliments to all.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

M DE VOLTAIRE TO MR. PITT.

Au Chateau de fernay, près de
Genève, 19 Juillet, 1761.

MONSIEUR,

WHILE you weight the interets of england and france, y^r great mind may at one time reconcile Corneille with Shakespear. Y^r name at the head of Subscribers shall be the greatest honour the letters can receive, t[']is worthy of the greatest ministers to protect the greatest writers. j dare not

(1) A familiar name of Mrs. Sparry, a most faithful and attached servant, who, in the capacity of nurse, brought up all the children.

ask the name of the King; but I am assuming enough, to desire earnestly so great a favour.

Je suis avec un respect infini pour votre personne
et pour vos grandes actions, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

VOLTAIRE (2),

gentilhomme ord. de la chambre du roy.

MR. PITT TO M. DE VOLTAIRE.

[From a draught in Lady Hester Pitt's hand-writing.]

St. James's Square, September 4, 1761.

THE pressure of business is but a feeble reason for having deferred answering the honour of a letter from M. de Voltaire, and on so interesting a subject. For who so insensible to the true spirit of poetry, as not to admire the works and respect the posterity of the great Corneille? or what more flattering than to second, in any manner, those pious cares, offered to the manes of the founder of

(1) Voltaire was at this time engaged in editing an edition of the works of Corneille, the profits arising from which were to be applied to the benefit of a grand niece of that illustrious man, whom the philosopher of Fernay had taken into his house, and treated as his own child. The work was published in 1764, in twelve volumes, octavo. Among the subscribers were the King of France for two hundred copies, nearly all the princes of the blood, Madame Pompadour, the Duke de Choiseul, &c. Voltaire himself subscribed for a hundred copies.

French tragedy by the genius who was reserved to perfect it?

I feel the high value of the favourable sentiments you are so good as to express on my subject, and am happy in this occasion of assuring you of the distinguished consideration with which

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. PITT. (1)

(1) In writing to Mr. Pitt, on the 28th of August, Mr. Stanley says: — “I have received the enclosed letter from Voltaire, whom I never saw, on my subscribing to an edition of Corneille. You will judge whether I have got off as well as my Lord Lyttelton: —

“ ‘ M. DE VOLTAIRE TO MR. STANLEY.

“ ‘ Sir,

“ ‘ I hear that when you take our settlements, you take subscriptions too. Corneille belongs to every nation, and especially to those *who greatly think, and bravely die*: had Shakespeare left a grand-daughter, I would subscribe for her. Give me leave to thank you for what you do in favour of Corneille’s blood.

“ ‘ I am, with respect, Sir,
Your most humble obedient servant,
“ ‘ VOLTAIRE.’ ”

“ ‘ MR. STANLEY TO M. DE VOLTAIRE.

“ ‘ Monsieur,

“ ‘ C’est au père de la tragédie Française que j’ai voulu rendre mes foibles hommages: je suis charmé de les voir approuvés par le plus digne de sa postérité poétique. Je suis bien intéressé à croire avec vous que les génies supérieurs appartiennent à toutes les nations. J’adopte avec empressement cette idée, puisqu’elle m’autorise à réclamer Voltaire pour compatriote.

“ ‘ J’ai l’honneur d’être, &c.
“ ‘ H. STANLEY.’ ”

THE HON. SIR EDWARD WALPOLE ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Pall Mall, August 14, 1761.

SIR,

I TRUST in your generosity and elevated way of thinking for a candid as well as kind interpretation of this letter, from one who, if he errs in the extreme of a conduct full of delicacy in regard to his parliamentary capacity, yet never loses sight of the respect he owes to such singular merit as yours, and such public service ; and however I may have at any time deviated from your measures, and differed from you in some particular points of consequence, which I certainly do, yet I have always done justice to those great parts of your administration, that have chiefly constituted your credit, character, and power.

And now, Sir, you shall know my business and request ; which, whether complied with or not, will make no difference in my sentiments of you, nor in my conduct towards you ; which, both to

(¹) Second son of Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford. He sat for Great Yarmouth in several parliaments ; in 1737, went as secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, when lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; in 1739, was appointed clerk of the pells in the exchequer ; and in 1753, installed knight of the bath. He died unmarried, in 1784, at the age of seventy-eight, leaving three natural daughters ; the eldest of whom was wife of the Mr. Keppel mentioned in this letter ; the second was married, first to James second Earl of Waldegrave, and afterwards to William Henry Duke of Gloucester, brother of George the Third ; and the third to the Earl of Dysart.

you and the public, will ever be honourable and just.

In this shape I will venture to ask you, whether it is agreeable to you or not to make Mr. Keppel⁽¹⁾ a bishop at this juncture? I know you do not care to encumber yourself with things of this kind; and, undoubtedly, such a man as you should not meddle with it at all, unless you were determined to have it done. I think I could give you many a better reason for such a step than the merely obliging me, which I look upon to be no reason at all: but, whether my reasoning would do as much credit to my parts, as I hope it would to my sincerity and good meaning, I cannot tell; and therefore I will submit the whole to your judgment and pleasure, subscribing myself, with great respect, Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
ED. WALPOLE.

(¹) The hon. and rev. Frederick Keppel, fifth son of William-Anne, second earl of Albemarle, and brother of the gallant commodore; at this time canon of Windsor. In September, 1758, he married sir Edward Walpole's eldest daughter, Louisa. "We are very happy with the match," writes Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann; "the bride is very agreeable, and sensible; and good; not so handsome as her sisters, but farther from ugliness than beauty. It is the second, Maria, who is beauty itself! Her face, bloom, eyes, hair, teeth, and person are all perfect. You may imagine how charming she is, when her only fault, if one must find one, is that her face is rather too round." In 1762, Mr. Keppel was made bishop of Exeter; and in 1766, dean of Windsor. He died in 1777.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

Friday night, half-past ten.
[August 14, 1761.]

SIR,

I HAVE thought it my duty to state exactly to his Majesty the opinion of this day's cabinet. The King has perused the draught, and desires the letter⁽¹⁾ may be sent to M. Bussy. I must not, however, conceal from you, that his Majesty shows a great deal of concern at a matter of this immense importance being carried by so slender a majority, and has asked me several times, with eagerness, why words were not chosen in which all might have concurred. I do not remember having seen so much agitation concerning any question that has been before us.

The King desires you would not confine yourself in town, as no business is likely to occur till Monday. I heartily wish you may recover your fatigues by the country air, and am, Sir, with great regard,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

BUTE.

(2) Mr. Pitt's last letter to M. de Bussy. It was dated the 15th of August, and written in answer to one of the 5th, accompanying the *ultimatum* of the court of France — "a court which, not satisfied," says Mr. Pitt, "with throwing so many insuperable obstacles in the way to peace, has not scrupled to interpose new perplexities in opposition to this precious blessing for which the nations sigh, by intermixing, too late, matters so foreign to the present negotiation between the two crowns, as are the discussions between Great Britain and Spain."

M. WALL TO THE COUNT DE FUENTES. (1)

St. Ildephonso, August 17, 1761.

I AM glad you have taken a proper opportunity of visiting my Lord Bute; who is too polite and well bred to be suspected of intending any disrespect to your Excellency in particular, much less as ambassador of Spain. I am greatly pleased to find this difficulty is removed.

Lord Bristol's courier arrived the day before yesterday. He has communicated the substance of his despatches to me. It is pretty much the same with what passed at your conference with Mr. Pitt. The despatch being in English, I desired my lord to give me a French translation of it for his Majesty's more exact information (as the subject was too important to trust entirely to my own weak memory), which he promised me, and I am waiting for it. Although it will not be proper to enter upon this matter until I see the whole, yet I cannot help expressing my surprise at that part of Mr. Pitt's letter which mentions the armaments and preparations carrying on in our harbours. (2)

(1) Endorsed, "translation of a letter from M. Wall to the Conde de Fuentes."

(2) The following is the passage in Mr. Pitt's letter to Lord Bristol, of the 28th of July, of which M. Wall complains:—
"M. Wall cannot wonder that your excellency is ordered by his Majesty to desire again, in this conjuncture, a proper explanation with regard to the naval armaments that have been so long preparing in the various ports of Spain; and his excellency cannot

I must either think this intelligence comes from the consuls (like the accounts of our preparing to besiege Gibraltar), or that Mr. Pitt's great employment has made him forget, not only that we have made the same armament for these two years past, but likewise twice before in the late King's reign; one, before the death of the queen his consort, and the other, during his sickness occasioned by her death, as it had been resolved upon before he fell sick. It would be as easy to answer the other articles as this; and it were to be wished, for the tranquillity of Europe, that the sentiments of that ministry with regard to peace were the same with those of his Majesty, of which he has given indisputable proofs, if they consider his conduct with attention. If they do so, they must at the same time do his Majesty the justice that is due to him.

WALL.

but himself be sensible how strongly the King is called upon, in the order of things, and from the indispensable motives of what he owes to his crown and people, to expect that the court of Madrid will come to some explicit and categorical *éclaircissement* with regard to the destination of her fleets, as well as with respect to her disposition to maintain and cultivate friendship and good correspondence with Great Britain: and this measure is become the more highly necessary, as the emissaries and partisans of France here are not a little active in endeavouring to infuse, particularly into people's minds in the city, for purposes too obvious to mention, *that a rupture with Spain, in conjunction with France, is approaching.*"

THE MARQUIS GRIMALDI TO THE COUNT DE
FUENTES. (1)

Paris, August 31, 1761. (2)

I RECEIVED yesterday your Excellency's despatches of the 25th. The advices contained in them, although not decisive, are of so much importance, in the present critical situation, that I thought it necessary to despatch a messenger to-day to our court with your Excellency's letters. I have had nothing to add in consideration of what Bussy writes; since every thing your Excellency mentions is so clear, that nothing more can be said. Thus I write to our court; having compared your Excellency's advices with those of Bussy.

(1) Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cipher."

(2) In a letter to Mr. Pitt, of the 20th of August, Mr. Stanley writes: — "The Duc de Choiseul said to me, the other day, in the warmth of conversation, 'that the treaty with England had hurt him;' and certainly the state of the negotiation has lately been very disadvantageous to his excellency in a private light, because it has given MM. de Stahremberg and Grimaldi an appearance of superiority over him, and has confirmed what they have incessantly urged against his plan. It is not, therefore, very clear to me, that the introduction of the Spanish affairs was a voluntary act of the Duc de Choiseul. M. Grimaldi, being an ambassador *de famille*, as it is here called, has perpetual opportunities of following the court: he acts on all occasions in concert with M. de Stahremberg, who is extremely well with Mdle. de Pompadour, and I do not doubt that they are both deeply engaged on the other side of the question. I need not repeat what infinite advantages they have lately had."

I have a letter from M. Wall of the 17th, who, by the same post, communicated to your Excellency the King's entire approbation of your wise conduct. They had not given Lord Bristol the answer in writing; but, according to what they say, it would be conformable to your Excellency's discourses. The fear of our court, which is not badly grounded, is for the fleet. *They want to gain time there, till she is arrived at Cadiz, and are privately sending twelve ships by way of convoy.* (1)

As to the other despatch in cipher, I answer, that without this they have remained here entirely bound by the Family Agreement and the Convention; and even without this, what your Excellency mentions is not to be feared, unless it is to be believed that treaties are of no use; in which case, one will be of as much validity as the other: however, now *there is no room for this fear, since both instruments were signed on the 15th, and I expect shortly the ratification.* (2)

(1) On the 8th of September, Mr. Stanley writes to Mr. Pitt: — "I this day heard, from good authority, that fifteen Spanish ships of war are to sail speedily, in order to convoy home the fleets which they expect."

(2) The following is an extract of a private letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, dated Paris, September 2: — "I have secretly seen an article, drawn up between France and Spain, in which the former engages to support the interests of the latter equally with her own in the negotiation of the peace with England; it was entitled Article 10. I am as yet a stranger to the other nine, but shall endeavour to get them. This was on a separate piece of paper; I read it twice over, but it was not left me long enough to copy. I conceive it to be

In the article which I sent your Excellency it is very clear that France cannot finish the war without our affairs being settled. Bussy likewise has it from his court, with orders to conform himself to it; since which I do not see there is any reason for your Excellency's fears.

GRIMALDI.

THE MARQUIS GRIMALDI TO THE COUNT DE
FUENTES.⁽¹⁾

Paris, September 13, 1761.

CHOISEUL has despatched a messenger to Bussy, with his answer to the ultimatum of England. ⁽²⁾

very recent, for it was communicated in a letter dated August 10, to M. de Bussy. He was directed not immediately to sign the peace, if it could be agreed with England; perhaps in order to get off from Spain more decently. I question whether this article has been signed, or totally concluded; but he was not allowed to proceed contrary to it. Spain has been pushing her negotiation ever since I came here, and had, about this time, gained great ground. I had the hint given me, and then enquired into it; you will find by mine of the 18th what answer I received. Some of my intelligence is of so secret a nature, that I am very apprehensive of the persons being guessed, if it comes to be at all communicated. I have seen some of M. de Bussy's letters; he knows more than he ought. It is only to those to whom the little leaf was first shown, that I trust in your honour to communicate what I now disclose."

⁽¹⁾ Endorsed, "translation of a letter in cipher."

⁽²⁾ "I could not but observe," writes Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, on the 8th, "that the Duc de Choiseul's behaviour this day, though personally very polite to me, was extremely grave, and that he appeared full of anxiety in his conversation with al

Your Excellency will see, that they give up every thing here: they only continue firm in regard to their allies, and consequently the system of this ministry is to remain true to us. Choiseul asked me, whether they should repeat in this last memorial, that the accommodation of our affairs should be a condition *sine quâ non*. I think it should be our aim not to let France make peace without our inclusion; but, at the same time, we ought to wish that, if possible, *it should not be said that peace has not been made on account of our differences with England*.

So I answered Choiseul, that it was not necessary to mention Spain in the memorial, and that it would be sufficient to repeat to Bussy the order of the 10th of August, *not to sign any thing without the accommodation of matters with Spain likewise*, according to the stipulation of the Treaty ⁽¹⁾

present. He mentioned to me, that if affairs had gone differently upon some points, and if he had seen better hopes of a reconciliation, he would have proposed a meeting with you, and have desired you either to send him a yacht, in order to his coming to Dover, or to have given him that opportunity on ship-board, between that place and Calais; that both should have had the authority of their sovereigns, in order to regulate the remaining difficult parts of the negotiation. I mention this more from its peculiarity, than from any consequence which I think it can possibly have."

(1) Afterwards so famous, under the title of the Family Compact. The discovery of the existence of this treaty confirmed Mr. Pitt's opinion of the hostile intentions of Spain. Considering war with that power on these grounds inevitable, he represented to the council, that "we ought, from prudence

between the two courts, *which is already ratified*. Choiseul has informed me, in his own hand-

as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow ; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only necessary to continue our present efforts, and that if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain ; that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once disable their, and strengthen our, hands ; and that this procedure, so suited to the dignity of the nation, and the insults it had received, would be a lesson to Spain, and to every other power, how they should presume to dictate in our affairs, and to intermeddle with a menacing mediation, and an officiousness as insidious as it was audacious." Lord Bute was the first to oppose these sentiments ; he called them rash and unadvisable : Lord Granville thought them precipitate, and desired time for consideration : Lord Temple supported Mr. Pitt : the Duke of Newcastle was neuter, and the Lord Chancellor absent. This was on the 18th of September. A few days afterwards, at a second council, at which all the ministers were present, Mr. Pitt re-urged the necessity of an immediate war with Spain ; stating, that he did not ground his resolution of attacking Spain upon what that court had said or might say, but upon what she had actually done. The majority declared themselves not yet convinced of the necessity of the measure, and the cabinet broke up without coming to any resolution. At a third meeting, however, on Mr. Pitt again urging the necessity of recalling Lord Bristol, every other member, with the exception of Lord Temple, objected to the measure. Warmed by this opposition, Mr. Pitt declared, that " this was the moment for humbling the whole House of Bourbon ; and if he could not prevail in this instance, this should be the last time he would sit in that council : he thanked the ministers of the late King for their support ; said he was himself called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he conceived himself accountable for his conduct, and that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide." The King having rejected the written advice of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, they resigned on the 5th of October.—See Annual Register, vol. iv. p. 42. ; and History of the Minority, p. 34.

writing, that he had done it so, and I acquaint your Excellency with it for your intelligence.

It was not possible for me to write to your Excellency by Choiseul's messenger, because I did not know it in time. This minister believes that they will not come into their memorial; but I am afraid they will, and that if the negotiation is broke off, it will be on our account.

GRIMALDI.

COUNT DE LALLY (1) TO MR. PITT.

London, September 29, 1761.

SIR,

SINCE my departure, now almost five years, from Europe for the Asiatic climates, I am his-

(1) This brave, but most imprudent and unfortunate officer, was of an Irish family, which had followed the fortunes of James the Second. He entered the army at a very early age; and having distinguished himself at the battle of Fontenoy, he was, in 1756, selected to restore the French influence in India, and made governor of Pondicherry. On the surrender of that place, in January 1761, he was made prisoner of war, and arrived in London a few days prior to the date of this letter. Having obtained the desired permission, he hastened to France to confront his enemies, by whom he was accused of having sold Pondicherry to the English; but no sooner had he reached Paris, than he was seized and sent to the Bastille, and, after a confinement of several years, brought to trial for treachery, abuse of authority, and unjust exactions. He was found guilty; and the circumstances of peculiar horror which attended his execution are thus related by Voltaire: — "When the Count's sentence was pronounced, the excess of his indignation was equal

torically acquainted but with two men in this world, the King of Prussia and Mr. Pitt; the one by a series of distress, the other of success; the

to his astonishment: he inveighed against his judges, and, holding in his hand a pair of compasses which he used for tracing maps in his prison, he struck it against his heart; but the blow was not sufficient to take away life: destined to lose it upon the scaffold, he was dragged into a dung-cart, with a gag in his mouth, lest, being conscious of his innocence, he should convince the spectators of the injustice of his fate." Madame du Deffand, in a letter to Horace Walpole, says, "*le peuple battoit des mains pendant l'exécution;*" to which he replies, "*Ah, madame, madame, quelles horreurs me racontez vous là! On a bien massacré des gens chez nous; mais a-t-on jamais vu battre des mains pendant qu'on mettoit à mort un pauvre malheureux, un officier général, qui avoit languì pendant deux ans en prison? un homme, enfin, si sensible à l'honneur, qu'il n'avoit pas voulu se sauver! si touché de la disgrâce, qu'il cherche à avaler les grilles de sa prison, plutôt que de se voir exposé à l'ignominie publique!*" — In 1783, his son, the celebrated Lally Tollendal, so far obtained a reversal of the judgments passed by the parliaments, as to regain the possession of his paternal estates. In 1789, he was one of the most popular and eloquent members of the constituent assembly; but, perceiving that principles prevailed repugnant to his sense of justice, he retired into Switzerland, and passed the winter at Lausanne with Gibbon. Having returned to France in 1792, he was sent to the Abbaye, whence he escaped during the massacres which took place in the prisons in September, and effected his retreat to England, where he found an asylum in the house of Lord Sheffield. During the consulate he returned to France, where he resided in literary retirement, till the restoration of the Bourbons; when he obtained a seat in the chamber of peers, as a marquis. He died in 1830. Besides several political works, he wrote "*Essai sur la Vie du Comte de Strafford,*" and a tragedy on the fall of that nobleman. Gibbon, in a letter to Lady Sheffield, says: — "I perfectly concur in your partiality for Lally; though nature might forget some meaner ingredients of economy, prudence, &c., she never formed a purer heart, or a brighter imagination."

former snatching at fortune, the latter directing her.

But when I shall have seen and heard here of Mr. Pitt all I have already read of him, I shall always remember I am his prisoner, and liberty to me, though a Frenchman, is of an inestimable value; therefore I earnestly beg your interest with his Majesty to grant me leave to repair to my native soil, either upon my parole, or upon the terms of the cartel in accepting of my ransom.

Nothing but my sense of gratitude for this favour can add to the high regard with which I am, Sir, your Excellency's

Most humble and most

obedient servant,

LALLY.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

October 6, 1761.

SIR,

I TAKE up the pen with more than ordinary desire to succeed in the business I am, by the King's command, to write to you upon. I earnestly wished to have carried to his Majesty some little opening of your mind; something that might have pointed towards that mark of his royal favour he seems impatient to bestow upon you. (1)

(1) Mr. Burke, who wrote the historical portion of the *Annual Register* for the year 1761, says, that "when Mr. Pitt

As that was not in my power, the King has desired me to mention two ideas ; wishing to have the one most agreeable to you carried into immediate execution ; but, if neither should be suitable to your inclinations, it is hoped that you will not be averse to give his Majesty a little insight into your own thoughts upon this subject. The government of the province of Canada, with a salary of five thousand pounds, seemed to strike the King most ; and that for two reasons : the first, as you would preside over a province acquired by your own ability and firmness ; secondly, as it would convey to all the world his Majesty's intentions of never parting with that great and im-

resigned the seals, the great person to whom they were re-delivered received them with ease and firmness, without requesting that he should resume his office. His Majesty expressed his concern for the loss of so able a servant ; and to show the favourable sense he entertained of his services, he made him a most gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. His Majesty at the same time expressed himself not only satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but declared he would have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed by Mr. Pitt as they had done in rejecting it. Mr. Pitt was sensibly touched with the grandeur and condescension of the proceeding. 'I confess, Sir, I had but too much reason to expect your Majesty's displeasure: I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness: pardon me, Sir, — it overpowers, it oppresses me.' He burst into tears. We are far from an attempt to add any colouring to so exquisitely affecting a picture ; we are, indeed, far from being able to do justice to perhaps one of the most pathetic and elevated scenes which could possibly be displayed, — the parting of such a prince, and such a minister."

portant conquest. The objection of its not being tenable with a seat in parliament is foreseen ; but a short bill might remedy that in this new case ; in the preamble of which, the King's reasons for this appointment would be set forth. If, however, this should not strike you in the same light it does his Majesty, the next thing I am ordered to mention is the chancellor of the dutchy, with the salary annexed to it as before mentioned.

You will please, Sir, to consider these as proofs of the King's earnest desire to show this country the high opinion he has of your merit. If they do not entirely please, impute it to the want of information I before hinted at ; and do me the justice to believe, that I never shall execute any commission with more pleasure than I have done this.

I am, Sir, with the highest regard,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

BUTE. (1)

(1) On the evening of this day, Bubb Dodington (now Lord Melcombe) wrote thus to Lord Bute : — " I sincerely wish your lordship joy of being delivered of a most impracticable colleague, his Majesty of a most imperious servant, and the country of a most dangerous minister. I am told that the people are sullen about it. Be that as it may, I think it my duty to my most gracious sovereign and my generous friend to say, that, if I can be of any service to either in any thing that is most dangerous and difficult, I am most ready to undertake it." In his answer, of the following day, Lord Bute says : — " Whatever private motives of uneasiness I might have in the late administration, I am far from thinking the dissolution of it favourable, in the present minute, to the King's affairs. I shall not fail to acquaint the King with the very frank and generous declaration

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

[From a rough draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

October 7, 1761.

MY LORD,

OVERWHELMED with the extent of his Majesty's gracious goodness towards me, I desire the favour of your Lordship to lay me at the royal feet, with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and respectful gratitude. Penetrated with the bounteous favour of a most benign sovereign and master; I am confounded with his condescension in deigning to bestow one thought about any inclination of his servant, with regard to the modes of extending to me marks of his royal beneficence.

Any public mark of his Majesty's approbation; flowing from such a spontaneous source of clemency, will be my comfort and my glory; and I cannot but be highly sensible of all those circumstances, so peculiarly honourable, which, attending the first of the two ideas suggested to me by his

you made. Indeed, my good lord, my situation, at all times perilous, is become much more so; for I am no stranger to the language held in this great city: 'Our darling's resignation is owing to Lord Bute, and he must answer for all the consequences;'—which is, in other words, for the miscarriages of another system, that Pitt himself could not have prevented. All this keeps up my attention, and strengthens my mind, without alarming it; not only whispers caution, but steadiness and resolution; wherein my noble friend's assistance will prove a real comfort to me."

Majesty's direction, have been mentioned. Commanded, however, as I am by the King, in a manner so infinitely gracious, not to suppress my thoughts on a subject of this extreme delicacy, I trust it will be judged obedience, not presumption, if I express the doubts I have as to the propriety of my going into either of the offices mentioned, or indeed, considering that which I have resigned, going again into any whatever.

Thus much in general I have presumed, not without pain and fear, to submit to his Majesty's consideration; too proud to receive any mark of the King's countenance and favour, but above all doubly happy could I see those dearer to me than myself comprehended in that monument of royal approbation and goodness, with which his Majesty shall condescend to distinguish me.

I cannot conclude this letter, already much too long, without expressing my warm thanks to your Lordship for the most obliging manner in which you have conveyed to me his Majesty's gracious intentions, and assuring your Lordship, that I shall always set a high value on the favourable sentiments which you are pleased to express on my subject. I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect,

Your, &c.,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

October 8, 1761.

SIR,

I LAID the contents of your letter before his Majesty; who was graciously pleased to admit of the reasons you gave for not accepting office, and to approve of the respectful openings some part of the letter afforded.

Having received the King's commands to consider of the most becoming method of carrying his intentions into execution, I have lost no time in my researches. The English civil list would by no means answer; the Irish had objections: one only thing remained, that could possibly serve the King's generous purpose. This his Majesty approves of, and has directed me accordingly to acquaint you, that as you declined accepting any office, his Majesty will confer the dignity of peerage on Lady Hester Pitt, to descend through her ladyship to your sons, with a grant of three thousand pounds per annum, on the plantation duties, to yourself and any two other lives you shall name. These unusual marks of the royal approbation cannot fail to be agreeable to a mind like yours. Permit me to assure you, that the communicating of them gives me the greatest pleasure. I am, Sir, with unfeigned regard,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

BUTE.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF BUTE.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

October 8, 1761.

I HAVE not words to express the sentiments of veneration and gratitude with which I receive the unbounded effects of beneficence and grace, which the most benign of sovereigns has condescended to bestow on me, and on those most dear to me.

Your Lordship will not wonder if the sensations which possess my whole breast refuse me the power of describing their extent, and leave me only to beg your Lordship will be so good as to lay me and Lady Hester at the King's feet, and to offer for us to his Majesty the genuine tribute of the truly feeling heart; which I will dare to hope, the same royal benevolence which showers on the unmeritorious such unlimited benefits may deign to accept with equal condescension and goodness.

I am, &c.,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BUTE TO MR. PITT.

St. James's, Friday, 40m. past one.
[October 9, 1761.]

SIR,

I HAVE laid your letter before his Majesty, as no words I could use can exceed the warmth and dutiful respect of your expressions. The King

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was extremely pleased with the perusal, and has directed me to enquire, Sir, of you, what title you would choose, and what names you would wish inserted in the grant; his Majesty having already given directions to the Duke of Newcastle concerning it.

I, with the utmost sincerity, congratulate you, Sir, and Lady Hester, on this eminent mark of his Majesty's regard and approbation, and am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

BUTE.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, October 8, 1761.

HONOURED SIR,

IF, in a general distress, it be permitted to proclaim one's joy for the accumulated glory of a

⁽¹⁾ In December, 1759, Dr. Warburton, through the interest of Mr. Allen with Mr. Pitt, was elected to the see of Gloucester. "In the common estimation," says Dr. Hurd, in his memoir of the bishop, "this was a preferment suitable to his merit. Mr. Pitt himself gloried in it, as what did honour to his administration. I remember to have seen a letter of his, in which he said, that 'nothing of a private nature, since he had been in office, had given him so much pleasure as his bringing Dr. Warburton upon the bench.' This virtuous self-gratulation became the minister, and others may be of his mind; but I have sometimes doubted with myself, whether the proper scene of abilities like his be not a private station, where only great writers have the leisure to do great things." In the course of

particular, your just resentment of ingratitude would afford me abundant occasion. The envy of base men which your amazing services have so inflamed, the glory which now accompanies your declining further service will inflame the more. All that I mean by this trouble, which needs your pardon, is only to profess my most inviolable attachment to your person and interests, in all stations, and in every way it may be acceptably expressed; having the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obliged and
most devoted servant,

W. GLOUCESTER.

his conversation with Lord Monboddo, in 1773, on the decrease of learning, Dr. Johnson made the following remarks: — “ Learning has decreased in England, because learning will not do so much for a man as formerly. There are other ways of getting preferment. Few bishops are now made for their learning: to be a bishop, a man must be learned in a learned age, factious in a factious age, but always of eminence. Warburton is an exception; though his learning alone did not raise him. He was first an antagonist to Pope, and helped Theobald to publish his *Shakespeare*; but, seeing Pope the rising man, when Crousaz attacked his *Essay on Man*, Warburton defended it: this brought him acquainted with Pope, and he gained his friendship: Pope introduced him to Allen, Allen married him to his niece; so, by Allen's interest and his own, he was made a bishop: but then his learning was the *sine quâ non*: he knew how to make the most of it, but I do not find by any dishonest means: he is a great man, has great knowledge, great power of mind; hardly any man brings greater variety of learning to bear upon his point.” — See Boswell's *Johnson*, vol. iv. p. 79. ed. 1835.

LORD FEVERSHAM⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Barford, October 10, 1761.

I KNOW not whether I am to congratulate you, or condole with myself and country, upon the event which has so lately and unexpectedly happened, — your having no longer the seals. I can hardly believe it, because I cannot see what this poor country can do in this critical situation, without the head and the heart that have conducted it to this point, when we only seemed to want a wise and happy ending of all we ought to desire—a peace founded upon justice and equity; which, indeed, I thought you had in your hands, as a reward of all the anxious cares and disagreeable oppositions which you have met with.

I cannot be suspected of flattery, from the very distant communications we have ever had. I have honoured the disinterested manner with which you have carried on the King's affairs; which has made me do every thing in my power to support the plans you adopted. As a private man, I do lament the distractions with which divided councils, in the infancy of his Majesty's reign, may cloud the future

(¹) Anthony Duncombe, nephew of Sir Charles Duncombe, banker, of London. On coming of age, he was chosen member of parliament for Salisbury, and afterwards for Downton; and, in 1747, was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Feversham. By his third wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Hales, he had a daughter, the mother of the present Earl of Radnor. On his lordship's death in 1763, the barony became extinct.

glory and happiness of a prince, whose heart seems bent only upon doing right ; and which nothing can prevent, if those about him do not bias the rectitude of his own good dispositions, to answer the private views of particular individuals.

Long may you enjoy all the blessings domestic happiness can give ; which overbalances every other the world, with all its glory, can bestow. These are the sincere wishes of him who has the honour to be, with great esteem and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,
FEVERSHAM.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK.

Hayes, ce 13 Octobre, 1761.

MONSEIGNEUR,

IL n'y a que le suffrage que votre Altesse Sérénissime a daigné m'accorder, qui puisse me servir d'excuse si, comme particulier, j'ose la détourner un moment pour lui rendre compte d'un événement qui m'est personnel.

Une différence de sentimens relativement à l'Espagne, où tout le reste du conseil s'est trouvé d'un avis contraire, à l'exception de milord Temple, au mien⁽¹⁾, m'a mis dans le cas, ou de demeurer

(¹) Lord Chesterfield, in a letter of the 21st of November, says : — " I have now good reason to believe that Spain will

responsable envers le public des mesures que je ne dirigeois pas, ou d'implorer le Roi de vouloir bien m'accorder la permission de me démettre de la charge de secrétaire d'état. Sa Majesté a non seulement daigné écouter ma très-humble prière, avec la clémence et la bénignité qui se deployent si heureusement dans ce jeune monarque, mais sa Majesté a bien voulu, de son gracieux mouvement, me combler ensuite de graces et de bienfaits infiniment au dessus de tout ce que mon zèle pour la gloire de sa couronne ait jamais pu mériter.

Devenu particulier, je ne cesserai qu'avec la vie de prendre le plus vif intérêt à la gloire de votre Altesse Sérénissime, et à la prospérité d'une maison, à laquelle la Grande Bretagne, ainsi que l'Europe, sera éternellement redevable.

Je n'ai pas manqué de mettre sous les yeux du Roi la lettre dont V. A. S. m'a honoré relativement à un moyen admirable de renforcer l'armée sous vos ordres, de son propre fond, ainsi que celle où V. A. S. a bien voulu faire justice au caractère d'un officier, dont elle a eu lieu de reconnoître le mérite.

Je suis, &c.

W. PITT.

declare war to us ; that is, that it will very soon, if it has not already, avowedly assist France, in case the war continues. This will be a great triumph to Mr. Pitt, and fully justify his plan of beginning with Spain first, and having the first blow, which is often half the battle." In the following month, the ambassadors quitted London and Madrid ; and war was declared on the 4th of January, 1762.

MR. PITT TO WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.

Hayes, October 15, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

FINDING, to my great surprise, that the cause and manner of my resigning the seals are grossly misrepresented in the city, as well as that the most gracious and spontaneous marks of his Majesty's approbation of my services, which marks followed my resignation, have been infamously traduced, as a bargain for my forsaking the public, I am under the necessity of declaring the truth of both these facts, in a manner which I am sure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion with regard to measures to be taken against Spain, of the highest importance to the honour of the crown, and to the most essential national interests, and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may further intend to do, was the cause of my resigning the seals. Lord Temple and I submitted in writing, and signed by us, our most humble sentiments to his Majesty; which being over-ruled by the united opinion of all the rest of the King's servants, I resigned the seals on Monday, the 5th of this month, in order not to remain responsible for measures which I was no longer allowed to guide. Most gracious public marks of his Majesty's approbation of my services followed my resignation. They are unmerited, and unsolicited; and I shall ever be

proud to have received them from the best of sovereigns.

I will now only add, my dear Sir, that I have explained these matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who, with a credulity as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit hastily to withdraw his good opinion from one who has served his country with fidelity and success; and who justly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it; little solicitous about the censures of the capricious and the ungenerous. Accept my sincerest acknowledgments for all your kind friendship, and believe me ever, with truth and esteem, my dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

W. PITT. (1)

(1) "Upon the resignation of Mr. Pitt," says Burke, in the volume recently quoted, "a torrent of low and illiberal abuse was poured out. His whole life, public and private, was scrutinized with the utmost malignity, to furnish matter of calumny against him. The successes of his administration were depreciated; his faults were monstrously exaggerated; and the rewards and honour so justly conferred on him by his sovereign were, by every trick of wit, ridicule, and buffoonery, converted into matter of degradation and disgrace. Without entering into the sentiments of any faction, we may affirm with truth and impartiality, that no man was ever better fitted than Mr. Pitt to be the minister of a great and powerful nation, or better qualified to carry that power and greatness to their utmost limits. There was in all his designs a magnitude, and even a vastness, which was not easily comprehended by every mind: with very little parliamentary, and with less court influence, he swayed, both at court and in parliament, with an authority unknown before to the best supported ministers. He was called to the ministry by the voice of the people; and, what is more rare, he

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, October 17, 1761.

HONoured SIR,

I CAN never sufficiently express my sense of the obligation you have condescended to lay me under, by your favour of the 15th. But I had been beforehand with it, in the plain truths which it contains; for in these wretched times we treat our earthly benefactors just as we do our heavenly; less grateful for the benefits we have received, than mutinous for the absence of those which we fancied we had a right to expect.

held it with that approbation; and under him, for the first time, administration and popularity were seen united. Under him Great Britain carried on the most important war in which she was ever engaged, alone and unassisted, with greater splendour, and with more success, than she had ever enjoyed at the head of the most powerful alliances. Alone this island seemed to balance the rest of Europe. In short, he revived the military genius of our people; he supported our allies; he extended our trade; he raised our reputation; he augmented our dominions. With regard to the pension and title, it is a shame that any defence should be necessary. What eye cannot distinguish, at the first glance, the difference between this and the exceptionable case of titles and pensions? What Briton, with the smallest sense of honour and gratitude, but must blush for his country, if such a man retired unrewarded from the public service, let the motives to that retirement be what they would? It was not possible that his sovereign could let his eminent services pass unrequited: the sum that was given was undoubtedly inadequate to his merits; and the quantum was rather regulated by the moderation of the great mind that received it, than by the liberality of that which bestowed it."

To such, in this very short interval, I have had occasion often to write, and oftener to say, that “when Mr. Pitt took the seals he sacrificed his ease, his health, and his fortune to his country; and (after a series of unparalleled services) in his resignation of the seals he risked the sacrifice of his popularity, to his country. Yet had he not done it in this manner, distracted councils and divided senates would probably have revived the days of Gertrudenburg and Utrecht; and that a little time would show him, even to the people, as well as to their posterity, the greatest and most virtuous minister that ever humbled the ambition of France, or arrested the falling reputation of Great Britain.”

I was enabled to say this and more, not only from my knowledge of persons and the obvious face of things, but from all I could learn of the solicitor-general⁽¹⁾, who has just now left this place, after a visit to me of a few days: for I should be unjust to him, on this occasion, to omit

(1) The Hon. Charles Yorke. He had for many years been the friend of Warburton, and corresponded with him at the age of twenty, on the subjects of some of his profoundest works. In one of these letters, written in 1742, at the time of the inquiry into the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, he says, “When I am conversing with you on subjects of literature or ingenuity, I forget that I have any remote interest in what is going forward in the world, nor desire at any time of life to be an actor in parties; or, as it is called somewhere, *subire tempestates re-publicæ*: but when I find every body inquiring to-day concerning the report of the secret committee yesterday, this passion for still life vanishes; *agilis fio, et mensor civilibus undis.*”

saying, that to me he ever appeared to hold you in the highest honour, and your measures (as soon as ever the effects appeared) in the highest esteem. I ought in justice to add further, that he deceived me greatly if, at that very time when your just resentments were about breaking out against the Duke of Newcastle⁽¹⁾, he did not use his best endeavours both with the duke and his father to repair their treatment, and procure you satisfaction. But he had not then that interest with them, which he has had since.

For the rest, Sir, I have little more to say than you. A tepid heart and a timid temper prevented him from serving me, and, what would have been of infinitely more honour to him, from seconding you, in such a manner as my affection for him seemed, and your public services appeared to all mankind, to deserve.

Your usual goodness, Sir, will pardon all this impertinence ; which is only meant as a repetition of my professions of the most inviolable attachment to your person and interests ; having the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obliged and
most devoted servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

(¹) See, on this point, the Duke of Newcastle's letter to Mr. Pitt of the 2nd, and Mr. Pitt's reply thereto, of the 5th of April, 1754. vol. i. pp. 95. 100.

GEORGE PITT, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

London, October 21, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

NOTWITHSTANDING my having been perfectly silent, with regard to my inclination of being sent to Turin, from the time I first troubled you upon that subject, I find, upon coming to town, that it is in my power to have it gratified. My desire, indeed, was known to Mr. Mackenzie; but as I have never had any conversation with, or have taken the least step towards, any man but yourself, I cannot now look upon this event as the bare result of my private wishes. This morning I am to wait upon Lord Bute, for the first time, upon this matter; but as nothing is yet finally settled, I am obliged, by every tie of friendship, respect, and gratitude, as well from my public connexions with you as an Englishman as from any private motives, to entreat your approbation of this measure.

It is unnecessary to say how happy I should be to owe this obligation to you solely, or to assure you, that self-consideration has much the smallest share in this my sincere wish. I have the honour to be, dear Sir, your most obliged, and

most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE PITT.

(¹) He was at this time member for the county of Dorset. In November, he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the court of Turin, and in 1770, was sent, in the same capacity, to Madrid. In 1776, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of baron Rivers, of Strathfieldsay, and in 1782, appointed a lord of the bed-chamber; which he retained till his death, in 1802.

MR. PITT TO GEORGE PITT, ESQ.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

[October —, 1761.]

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING been always desirous, from true sentiments of esteem, to find all proper occasions of recommending myself to your regard, I should blush to take the least share of merit towards you from the act of others, in which it is but fair to declare, I have not had directly or indirectly any part. On the contrary, the several names of noble lords I had presumed to suggest as proper for being sent to the court of Turin, remained till the day of my resigning the seals, with whatever weight my unavailing recommendation could add to the circumstances which appeared to me to point them out for his Majesty's service; nor did I ever mention, my dear Sir, your name on this occasion. It is true, Lord Bute had mentioned you, and that pretty early; which could not but distress me, after I had suggested others; from which I never could have departed, had I continued to hold the seals.

This is the naked and exact truth; which I think it best to give you without dressing, — the circumstance being too delicate for me to leave room for mistakes. Thus, my dear Sir, it was not to me that you owe the satisfaction of your wishes, but to the friendship of Mr. Mackenzie, and the favourable disposition of Lord Bute; and it is just towards

them, and of some consequence to me, that you and the world should rightly understand the matter. I am, with esteem and consideration,

Yours, &c.,

W. PITT.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.⁽¹⁾

Soho Square, November 6, 1761.

MY DEAR SIR,

THERE does not a man exist who is more heartily and warmly attached to you, than myself. You may therefore easily conceive I would not advise any measure that could possibly be of detriment to you, or my country. Men's hopes and fears are strangely agitated at this critical juncture; but all agree universally, that you ought to make your appearance at Guildhall on Monday next with Lord Temple; and, upon the maturest reflection, I am clear you ought not to refuse this favour to those who are so sincerely your friends.

As you cannot say any one prediction of mine has proved false, so I hope you will give me an opportunity of being declared a true prophet in the present case; which will afford great comfort to, my dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and affectionate,

W. BECKFORD.

(¹) Endorsed by Lady Chatham: — "Mr. Beckford, 1761; to press my lord to appear with Lord Temple: to which he yielded for his friend's sake; but, as he always declared, both then and after, against his better judgment."

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. (¹) TO LADY CHATHAM.

Friday, November 12, 1761.

WHEN I wrote my last note to your ladyship, I had heard but little concerning the triumphal entry into the city on Lord Mayor's day. It now comes out, that a party of bruisers, with George Stephenson, the one-eyed fighting coachman, at their head, had been hired to attend the chariot which contained the blazing comet and the new chancellor of the exchequer(²) (which last, it seems, has undertaken to raise the supplies for the next year by a tax upon wild ducks), and to procure shouts and acclamations from the mob.

By the time the procession, which moved but slowly, had got into St. Paul's Church-yard, these fellows had halloed themselves hoarse, and it had been given out that Mr. Pitt was in the chariot, by which means, they had artfully obtained the mob to join them ; but, on the east side of St. Paul's Church-yard, some knowing hand stepped up, and

(¹) Mr. Nuthall was an eminent solicitor, who transacted Mr. Pitt's private business from a very early period until his death. In 1765, he was appointed solicitor to the treasury. On returning from Bath, in March 1775, he was attacked by a highwayman on Hounslow Heath ; who, on his demands not being complied with, fired into the carriage. Mr. Nuthall returned the fire, and, it is thought, wounded the man, as he rode off precipitately. On arriving at the inn at Hounslow, he wrote a description of the fellow to Sir John Fielding ; but had scarcely closed the letter, when he expired.

(²) Lord Barrington.

looking full at the idol, pronounced, with a fine hoarse audible voice, "by G—d, this is not Pitt; this is Bute, and be damned to him;" (I beg pardon of your ladyship for writing such words; but historians ought to tell facts as they happened.) Upon this, the tide took another turn; and the bruisers' lungs being worn out, the shouts from the independent mobility were instantly converted into hisses, accompanied with a few vulgar sayings, as "D—n all Scotch rogues!" — "No Bute!" — "No Newcastle salmon!" — "Pitt for ever!"

By the time they reached Cheapside, it was discovered there were some bruisers hired for protectors: this gave still greater offence, and then they began to be more outrageous; and on the turn into King Street an attack began on the coachman and footmen behind with dirt, some of which found its way into the chariot, and very much altered the colour of the new chancellor's ruffles (¹); for it fixed on him only. Before they arrived at Guildhall, the bruisers were almost bruised to death themselves.

(¹) In a letter written about this time to Mr. Mitchell, the "new chancellor" says, "I continue, my dear Mitchell, without application, to advance, or indeed desire; being convinced that I have long been placed too high. When the time comes for my retiring to the situation best adapted to my nature, I hope to fall easily. I promise you that your old friend will not fall in the dirt. If the duty you owe to the best and most amiable master that ever lived since the days of Titus would permit you to leave the station you are now in, it would give me infinite satisfaction. Old friends fall off, and I find new ones are not so easily made as I thought they were, when I was younger." — *Mitchell MSS.*

Stephenson had been obliged to retire under the chariot, and with great difficulty got into Guildhall Coffee-house in great disgrace, and trampled under foot. It was with no small labour the chariot got up to the gate of Guildhall, where the constables and peace officers, being numerous, prevented further mischief; but had there been a furlong further to go, the mob would certainly have cut the harnesses in pieces, and probably gone to greater extremity. At night, his lordship took the opportunity to get into the Lord Chancellor's state coach, and went away with him, and by that means got home quietly; but I have not yet heard how he rested. I am, Madam,

Your most obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL. (1)

(1) Mr. Burke, in the volume already quoted, states that "the conduct of Mr. Pitt when the new parliament met, in which he made his own justification, without impeaching the conduct of any of his colleagues, or taking one measure that might seem to arise from disgust or opposition, has set a seal upon his character." From the strictness with which the standing order of the House of Commons for the exclusion of strangers was enforced during the whole of this session, no regular report of the debates has, unfortunately, been preserved. The following passages in the letters of Mr. Symmers to Mr. Mitchell will, in some measure, supply the deficiency. Mr. Symmers may be considered as Mr. Mitchell's own resident, or agent, at the court of St. James's. He had many friends in office, and was proposed by Lord Hillsborough to Lord Bute for his private secretary, at the time when Mr. Jenkinson was appointed:—

"Nov. 20. Happy it is for us that we have at the head, and in the heart of the nation, a young King who appears to want neither spirit nor conduct. He will support the weight of the

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, March 26, 1762.

HONOURED SIR,

I WAITED on you yesterday to know if you had any particular commands to Bath or Prior Park,

affairs of the public, in case of any defect or division in the ministry; which is but too much the case at present. Since the great commoner laid down the reins of administration, it does not appear who has taken them into their hands. The members of the house seem to be at a loss what to think; whether they shall have a quiet or a turbulent session; but it is the general opinion it will be very much either the one or the other. The house was to deliberate on the King's speech upon Friday last, when, as it was known Mr. Pitt was to speak, it was generally expected that matters would be brought to a crisis, and perhaps to a rupture of opposition. He spoke with temper and firmness, and rather recommended unity than encouraged opposition. He entered a little on the justification of his own conduct during his administration; but referred a further detail till some future occasion. He adhered to the system he had followed of carrying on the war in Germany; of pushing the French wherever they could be attacked in Europe and in their colonies; and of not being checked in the course of these vigorous measures from the apprehension of a war with Spain. This he looked upon to be the only means of procuring a safe and an honourable peace. No warm debate arose in the house upon what was thrown out there. People out of doors seem to be more divided, and warmer in their different opinions. The city, and the trading part of the nation, adopt Mr. Pitt's measures, and support his personal interest, or rather popularity."

"Dec. 11. The question came to be decided on Wednesday last in the house, upon the motion then made for renewing the treaties with the King of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. The crowd in the house was inconceivable. It was a measure fixed, that the war was to be continued upon the same footing as before. The resolution was, therefore, without a division, and

whither I am going. The necessary attendance on your health and on public business so engrosses

unanimous; but, in the course of the debate some things appeared, that showed not much of good humour. George Grenville, who is in intimate connexion with the present ministry, throughout his whole speech carried on a covered attack against the administration of a relation of his lately in power, as Mr. Rigby, the Duke of Bedford's friend, did against the same person, in a manner more open. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt, with a great deal of temper, entered into a defence of his conduct through all the different periods of it; and at the same time that he justified himself, he did not spare those whom he had succeeded in power, nor those who had attacked him.

"Yesterday, when the report was made from the committee, and Mr. Pitt was not present, a new attack was made upon him, by some members who had not spoken the day before. Colonel Barré, whom Lord Shelburne brought into parliament, renewed the debate with unusual warmth, making use of expressions extremely harsh, such as that of a 'profligate minister,' and the 'execration of the people of England.' He was censured by Charles Townshend and Mr. Beckford. Lord George Sackville took occasion to speak that day for the first time since his disgrace; and, it is said, spoke with great address and great caution, but in opposition to the measures of a German war.

"A motion for the Spanish papers to be laid before the house is the business of to-day; and as it is a trying point, will probably keep the house late. In the meanwhile, the house has thought fit to exclude all strangers. This resolution was owing to an odd whim that has prevailed this session among the ladies. They had taken it into their heads to come to hear the debates; and so many had interest to get in, as to fill the side galleries, so that the end being only left for the gentlemen, the tumult occasioned by so great a crowd confined to so narrow bounds, obliged the house to come to this resolution."

"Dec. 25. It is remarked by political bystanders, that at this time there are no less than four different parties, or rather separate interests, afloat; viz. the Duke of Newcastle, with his old and established interest; Mr. Pitt, with his popularity without door; Lord Bute, with the weight of the crown; and

your time, that it was religion in me not to intrude upon it, otherwise I would have ventured any imputation rather than the shadow of a suspicion, that the duties of gratitude and friendship were not always first in my thoughts. They are in their own nature the most sacred of all private ties, and mine to you, Sir, are the strongest and most en-

the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox, with their old connexions. It is further thought there is a good understanding between the two first of these, and between the two last. If that should be so, we shall then have two parties effectually formed, and God knows when there may be an end of party ! Some of a more sanguine and well-wishing disposition flatter themselves that all these jarring interests may once more be jumbled into one ; the object of which will be to carry on the war with spirit, till a safe and honourable peace be attained. They go so far as to fancy, that the long adjournment to the 19th of January is with a view to this."

" Jan. 29, 1762. Would you know a little of the humour of parliament, and particularly with regard to Mr. Pitt ? I must then tell you that Colonel Barré, a soldier of fortune, a young man born in Dublin of parents of a mean condition, his father and mother from France, and established in a little grocer's shop by the patronage of the Bishop of Clogher ; a child of whom the mother nursed (these particulars I have from Mr. Millar, upon his own certain knowledge) ; this young man (a man of address and parts), found out, pushed, and brought into parliament by Lord Shelburne, had not sat two days in the house before he attacked Mr. Pitt. I shall give you a specimen of his philippics. Talking of the manner of Mr. Pitt's speaking, he said ' There he would stand, turning up his eyes to heaven, that witnessed his perjuries, and laying his hand in a solemn manner upon the table, that sacrilegious hand that had been employed in tearing out the bowels of his mother country ! ' Would you think that Mr. Pitt would hear this and be silent ; or would you think that the house would suffer a respectable member to be thus treated ? Yet so it was." — *Mitchell MSS.*

dearing, both on account of the bestower and of the benefits. All I mean by this is only to show how much without reserve I am, when I profess myself, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and
most devoted Servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

P.S. Give me leave, Sir, to congratulate you on the success at Martinico.⁽¹⁾ I do it with singular propriety; for it is the effect of an impulse (I hope not yet ceased), which your glorious administration had imparted to the whole political machine.

SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Rome, April 14, 1762.

MY DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT forbear congratulating you on the glorious conquest of Martinico, which, whatever effect it may have in England, astonishes all

(¹) Shortly before the resignation of Mr. Pitt, an expedition had been projected against Martinico; and the war being concluded in North America, we were enabled to draw from thence a considerable part of the army. General Monckton commanded the land forces, and Admiral Rodney the fleet; the former consisting of twelve thousand men, the latter of eighteen ships of the line. On the 7th of January the armament arrived before the island; on the 16th effected their landing at Cas Navire; and on the 12th of February the whole island surrendered.

Europe, and fills every mouth with praise and commendation, with applause and admiration, I may say, of the noble perseverance and superior ability of the planner of this great and decisive undertaking, and the heroic ardour and constancy of the combined forces in the achievement. ⁽¹⁾ His Holiness ⁽²⁾ yesterday told Mr. Weld ⁽³⁾, a Roman Catholic Dorsetshire gentleman, who was presented to him, that were not the information such as left no possibility of its being doubted, the news of our success could not have been credited; and that so great was the national glory and reputation all over the world, that he esteemed it the highest honour to be born an Englishman. And, indeed, the French and Spanish factions had ridiculed the undertaking, and pronounced the attempt to be ruinous and impracticable. My letters from England say, that

⁽¹⁾ "The single eloquence of Mr. Pitt," says Horace Walpole, in a letter to Mr. Montagu, "can, like an annihilated star, shine many months after it has set. I tell you it has conquered Martinico. If you will not believe it, read the Gazette, read Monckton's letter: there is more martial spirit in it than in half Thucydides, and in all the grand Cyrus. Do you think Demosthenes or Themistocles ever raised the Greek stocks two per cent. in four and twenty hours? I shall burn all my Greek and Latin books: they are histories of little people. The Romans never conquered the world, till they had conquered three parts of it, and were three hundred years about it: we subdue the globe in three campaigns; and a globe, let me tell you, as big again as it was in their days."

⁽²⁾ Clement the Thirteenth.

⁽³⁾ Edward Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle, uncle of the present Cardinal Weld. He died in 1775, and his widow married Thomas Fitzherbert, Esq., of Swinnerton, whom she survived, and was well known in society as Mrs. Fitzherbert.

Mr. Pitt's friends declare, this is the last act of his administration that he is to derive any honour from. I should think this the language of his enemies at home, for abroad all mankind will give him credit for the consequences of this great event; and great is the universal expectation of what must follow from the further operations of a force from so many causes irresistible, and so happily collected at this season. ⁽¹⁾

But, Sir, if this be the end of your administration, I shall only say, *finis coronat opus*. I am ever, dear Sir,

most entirely and faithfully yours,

RICHARD LYTTELTON.

THE EARL OF TYRAWLY ⁽²⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Lisbon, April 15, 1762.

SIR,

IT is impossible for me to forget any thing that can give you ease or pleasure, and consequently I remember we had some time ago a dissertation upon the use and benefit of Portuguese wooden stirrups. I beg now to illustrate by example the comfort of

⁽¹⁾ The surrender of Martinico naturally drew on the surrender of all the dependent islands. Granada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent shortly after followed its example.

⁽²⁾ The earl, who had formerly resided with high reputation as ambassador at the court of Lisbon, now united the different characters of plenipotentiary and general.

of that accoutrement. I have taken the liberty of sending you a pair of them, which will be left at Hayes. If you usually *chevauchez* long, you should *chevaucher plus court*, and set your foot flat upon them as upon the ground, and you will find, by the play of the stirrup-leather, that your heel will drop lower than the toe into an easier posture.

The Spaniards threaten us hard in the memorials they give to this court : we, on our parts, do not bate them an ace. In the mean time, they draw very slowly towards the frontiers, and we are assembling troops to oppose them.⁽¹⁾ I believe that ten thousand well disciplined troops upon the frontiers of either might take their choice whether they would come to Lisbon or march to Madrid ; but I am also of opinion, that neither army will give themselves the trouble of so long a march, for I am much mistaken if all this does not end in a cup of mild beer.⁽²⁾ I am, Sir, with great truth and regard,

Your, &c.,

TYRAWLY.

(1) In the preceding month, the Spanish army had advanced towards the frontiers of Portugal, the commerce of corn between the two kingdoms had been prohibited, and every thing threatened a sudden invasion. In the midst of these hostile preparations, the French and Spanish ministers presented a joint memorial to the court of Lisbon, which was followed by several others. The purport of these memorials was to persuade the King of Portugal to enter into the alliance against England.

(2) The dispute between the two kingdoms had a very different result. In a week from the date of this prediction, the King of

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF TYRAWLY.

[Hayes —, 1762.]

MY LORD,

CAPTAIN O'HARA did me the honour of a visit yesterday at Hayes, and was so good as to bring with him the wooden stirrups used in Portugal, of which your Excellency's infinitely obliging letter had apprised me some days before. Though I have long known, by very pleasing experience, that politeness and every *agrément* of society may stand for the name of Lord Tyrawly, yet I could not, without extreme presumption, have ventured to flatter myself with such an instance of kind remembrance and friendship, especially in the midst of that scene which at present engages your Excellency's cares, and demands all your ability. I have no doubt that your Excellency will give a good account of the Spaniards.⁽¹⁾ In the mean

Portugal, in his answer to the third memorial of the French and Spanish ambassadors, declared, that "it would affect him less to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal held most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers; who would no longer enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war should be kindled between other powers with which the former were connected by defensive treaties." On the 27th of April, the ambassadors of the two crowns were ordered to leave the kingdom; and on the 23d of May, war was declared by Portugal against Spain.

(¹) The King of Portugal having made urgent solicitation for assistance, a large body of British troops, under the com-

time I will consecrate some favorite spot of my evergreens to the Portugal laurel, where I warmly

mand of brigadier-general Burgoyne, were embarked for Portugal; the command of the native forces being entrusted to Count la Lippe, master-general of the artillery under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Upon which, Lord Tyrawly returned, it is supposed in disgust, to England. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having, on the 13th of May, moved, that the sum of one million should be granted in aid of the extraordinary expenses of the war, Mr. Pitt, in supporting the motion, took occasion to enter into his own justification. He began by pointing out the necessity of continuing the war in Germany, and of supporting the King of Portugal. He observed, that in times of war connections with the continent had always been found political, except in the four unhappy reigns of the Stuarts: then, turning about to several gentlemen, he jocularly said, "You who are for continental measures, I am with you; and you who are for the King of Portugal, I am with you; and you who are for putting an end to the war, I am with you also; in short, I am the only man to be found who is with you all." He next enumerated the successes which had attended the British arms in all parts of the world, and the immense advantages gained in our trade, which would more than compensate the great expense we had been at; and, in regard to contracting that expense, he entirely agreed with those who were for it, and urged that whoever would effect this salutary work would deserve the highest encomiums. He further remarked, that he did not find any less expense attended the nation now, than when he unworthily held the seals, or that more was done. As to what a noble lord (George Sackville) had said about continental expenses, he did not exactly know what to make of it. If the noble lord meant that there had not been fair play with the money, he knew nothing of it; then, stretching out his hands and moving his fingers, he said, "they are clean, there is none of it sticks to them," and that he would second any person who should move for an inquiry into all the money matters: he was anxious to know how it was appropriated, that the whole truth might come out. He then represented, that in consequence of our withdrawing our troops from Germany, Portugal

hope, and that at no distant time, to have the honour to welcome the deliverer of Lisbon, and to offer in person the sincerest assurance of the respectful esteem, and affectionate attachment, with which I have the honour to subscribe myself, &c.

W. PITT.(¹)

and the Low Countries would become a prey to the French and Spaniards; that, in point of policy, we ought not to suffer it, but that he did not mean to bear the King of Portugal on our shoulders, but only to set him on his legs, and put a sword in his hand. He recommended union and harmony to the ministry; declared against altercation, which he said was no way to carry on the public business; and urged the necessity of prosecuting the war with vigour, as the only way to obtain an honourable, solid, and lasting peace.—See *Parl. Hist.* vol. xv. p. 1222. On the following day, Mr. Symmers, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, says: — “Mr. Pitt never spoke with more temper, nor better than he did yesterday. The whole house paid him great attention. Mr. Glover opposed Mr. Pitt; but he laid himself very open, and was trod into the dust by his antagonist. Colonel Barré set out in a flaming, scurrilous speech, as usual; but was discountenanced by the house. Many gentlemen, as soon as he rose, went out; many of those who staid, shuffled about from their places, talked with one another, coughed, and would not hear him.”

(¹) The means of prosecuting the war formed, at this time, a principal ground of difference between Lord Bute and the Duke of Newcastle; the former determining to withdraw all pecuniary aid from the King of Prussia, and to relax the efforts which this country was making on the Continent; the latter, resolving on an opposite mode of conduct: but, finding himself only supported in the council by the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Hardwicke, he, on the 26th of May, resigned his high situation. Lord Bute became prime minister, Mr. George Grenville was advanced to the secretaryship, Sir Francis Dashwood appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Barrington removed to the treasuryship of the navy. “I need not tell you,” writes his lordship to Mr. Mitchell, on the 1st of

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

A` Hoff, ce 20^e Juillet, 1762.

MONSIEUR,

Ce fut hier que je reçus, des mains de Mylord Granbi, la lettre polie et affectueuse de votre Ex-

June, "who compose the new treasury under Lord Bute, or that my friend, Sir Francis Dashwood, is my successor. You were immediately apprised, that Mr. Grenville is secretary of state for the northern department; but perhaps you have not been told what passed at the audience the Duke of Newcastle had with the King, when he resigned last Wednesday. His Majesty said he was sorry to lose him, and should always remember his services; that he feared the duke's private fortune had suffered by his zeal for the House of Hanover; that his Majesty was desirous to make any amends in his power, in any way that should be most agreeable; and added, that it was a debt due to his grace. The duke answered, that in office he had never considered the profit of employment; that out of office he could not bear the thought of being a burthen to the Crown; that if his private fortune had suffered by his loyalty, it was his pleasure, his glory, and his pride; and that he desired no reward but his Majesty's approbation. When I carried the exchequer seal to the King, he was pleased to say, he should be sorry to take it out of my hands, if he had not something immediately to offer, which he hoped would be agreeable to me, and which he gave as a mark of his approbation. I kissed hands that day as treasurer of the navy. You will most undoubtedly lament with me, that the Duke of Newcastle should retire from business at such a juncture; but, if you knew the whole, you would not condemn the step he has taken—and taken with moderation, temper, and dignity." — *Mitchell MSS.*

In a letter to Mr. Montagu, of the 8th of June, Horace Walpole, in allusion to the new administration, says:—"Popularity does not make great promises to it; for it lets Lord Bute be abused every day, though he has not had time to do the least wrong thing. His levee was crowded. Bothmar, the Danish

cellence, par la quelle Elle me marque la part infinie qu'Elle prend, comme patriote et comme ami, aux avantages que l'armée du Roi en Allemagne confiée à mes ordres à remportée par la puissante protection du Très Haut, sur la grande armée Française, commandée par les maréchaux Comte d'Etrées et le Prince de Soubise. ⁽¹⁾

Si j'ai révééré, estimé, et aimé M. Pitt comme ministre, je ne le chéris pas moins (et même encore plus, s'il étoit possible) devenu particulier. C'est une vérité qui ne s'effacera jamais de mon cœur ;

minister, said "La chaleur est excessive !" George Selwyn replied, "Pour se mettre au froid, il faut aller chez le Duc de Newcastle !" There was another George, not quite so tender. As George Brudenel was passing by, somebody in the mob said, "What is the matter here ?" Brudenel answered, "Why, there is a Scotchman got into the treasury, and they can't get him out." The mob called Buckingham-house, Holyrood-house ; in short, every thing promises to be like times I can remember.

⁽¹⁾ The French, at the opening of the campaign, were strongly posted on the frontiers of Hesse, and, trusting to their position, apprehended no attack. Prince Ferdinand, however, on the 4th of July, made a general assault upon their camp ; in which, by his skill and intrepidity, the valour of his army, and the courage and activity of the Marquis of Granby, he gained so great a victory, as to give him a decided superiority through the whole campaign. Sir Joseph Yorke, writing, on the 18th of July, from the Hague to Mr. Mitchell, says, in reference to this victory, "We owe a great deal to Prince Ferdinand, whose conduct, so unexpected in England, has saved the Continent, and prevented perhaps a measure, which the authors of would have been sorry for a week after."

car d'oser se flatter d'avoir part à votre amitié, c'est un sentiment bien flatteur pour moi.

J'ai l'honneur, &c.

FERDINAND DUC DE BRUNSWIC
ET DE LÜNEBOURG. ⁽¹⁾

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO LADY CHATHAM.

Thursday Morning, Oct. 14, 1762.

MADAM,

THOUGH I was laughed at for my political news, yet I must tell your ladyship, that Mr. Fox

⁽¹⁾ The capture of the Havannah, one of the most important exploits achieved during the war, which took place in August, is thus noticed by Sir Joseph Yorke, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, of the 9th of October: — “ All the world is struck with the noble capture of the Havannah, which fell into our hands on the Prince of Wales's birth-day, as a just punishment upon the Spaniards for their unjust quarrel with us, and for the supposed difficulties they have raised in the negotiation of peace. By what I hear from Paris, my old acquaintance Grimaldi is the cause of the delay in signing the preliminaries, insisting upon points neither France nor England would ever consent to grant, such as the liberty of fishing at Newfoundland; a point we should not dare to yield, as Mr. Pitt told them, though they were masters of the Tower of London. What effect the taking of the Havannah will have is uncertain; for the Spaniards have nothing to give us in return, and, pour leurs beaux yeux, I think they cannot expect it. If I could send a line to Lord Albemarle, I would endeavour to regale his Prussian Majesty's nose with some most excellent snuff; though I don't doubt he will give a commission for it. Our situation at home is just the same. The heat of party for the moment has served to warm the heads of every body with joy for our uncommon success; in which Providence

kissed hands yesterday, as one of the cabinet, Lord Halifax as secretary of state, and Mr. George Grenville as first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Fox's present state of health, it was given out, would not permit him to take the seals; and probably that will depend on the success he meets with, and the facility with which he shall be able to conduct and manage the House of Commons; who are now so low, as to have a leader put over them, in no ministerial office whatever, and consequently responsible for nothing, and ignorant of every thing he does not choose to know.

My countryman, the right hon. Charles Townshend, was early yesterday morning sent for by the Earl of Bute, who opened to him this new system, and offered him the secretaryship of the plantations and board of trade; which he not only refused, but refused all connection and intercourse whatsoever with the new counsellor, and spoke out freely. He was afterwards three times in with the King, to whom he was more explicit, and said things that did not a little alarm. On his coming out of the closet, Mr. Fox met him, and gave him joy; he asked, for what? Mr. Fox replied, of your being secretary of state for the plantations: Mr. Townshend answered, "Don't believe that, Sir, till you hear it from me." Mr. Fox

has wonderfully blessed us. The best return would be temper and unanimity; but appearances are not favourable for the 25th of November."

was struck, and said he was greatly astonished, for he had understood that this had been settled. I have this from a person to whom Mr. Townshend communicated all that passed, within an hour after it happened; with this addition, that the Duke of Devonshire, who is at Bath, was sent for on this occasion; but refused to come, without giving any reason whatsoever. Mr. Townshend thinks this system had not taken place, if somebody had not been at Windsor, and settled matters there. I hope Mr. Pitt and your ladyship will believe my news another time. The bearer is ordered not to wait; for I take it for granted your ladyship can give no reason why these things are so.

I am, Madam,

Your most obedient, and faithful servant,

T. NUTHALL.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the 14th of October, Lord Halifax was gazetted as one of the principal secretaries of state, and, two days after, Mr. George Grenville as first lord of the admiralty. Horace Walpole thus announces the event to George Montagu, Lord Halifax's nephew and secretary: — "You will not make your fortune in the admiralty at least; your king's cousin is to cross over and figure-in with George Grenville; the latter takes the admiralty, Lord Halifax the seals — still, I believe, reserving Ireland for pocket-money; at least, no new viceroy is named. Mr. Fox undertakes the House of Commons. You see, Lord Bute totters; reduced to shift hands so often, it does not look like much stability. The campaign at Westminster will be warm. When Mr. Pitt can have such a mouthful as Lord Bute, Mr. Fox, and the peace, I do not think that three thousand a year will stop it." — On the 31st of October, the Duke of Devonshire resigned his office of lord chamberlain, Lord George Cavendish that of comptroller of the household, and Lord Bes-

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, October, 24, 1762.

HONOURED SIR,

A SHEET of the little Discourse⁽¹⁾ which you will now receive from the bookseller, has had the benefit of your correction, as you will find by the several passages relating to the abuses of literary and religious liberty, which are now altered and softened according to your more precise ideas.

But, there was another part which I declined to submit to your inspection ; as I could not, on such a subject, expect much equity even from your decision — I mean the little Advertisement,⁽²⁾

borough that of one of the post-masters general. “ The events of the last eight days,” writes Walpole, on the 4th of November, “ will make you stare. This day se’nnight the Duke of Devonshire came to town, was flatly refused an audience, and gave up his key. Yesterday Lord Rockingham resigned, and your cousin Manchester was named to the bed-chamber. The King, then in council, called for the book, and dashed out the Duke of Devonshire’s name. If you like spirit, *en voilà*. Do you know, I am sorry for all this. I think the act too violent and too serious, and dipped in a deeper dye than I like in politics.”

(1) Intituled, “ The Doctrine of Grace ; or, the Office and Operation of the Holy Spirit, vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism.”

(2) The following is the Advertisement here referred to :—

“ While I was composing these sheets, to vindicate the honour of religion, it was given out, that I was writing in defence of a late minister of state. I have a Master above, and I have one below — I mean God, and the King. To them my services are bound ; the most sacred of all private ties, are friendship and gratitude. The duties arising from these, though not altogether so extensive as the other, are subservient only to them.

which you will find prefixed. As this was written for my own sake, my jealousy would not suffer me to submit to it another's will. The truth is, that amongst the several virtues, of which an honest

"With respect to the great Minister here understood, his vindication, had he wanted any, could come with proper dignity, only from himself: and he, though for the first time, would be here but a copier: I mean, of the example of that first of Romans*, who, being calumniated before the people by one Nævius, an obscure plebeian, when he came to make his defence, which happened to be on the anniversary of the battle of Zama, addressed the assembly in this manner: — 'It was on this day, Romans, that I subdued your mighty rival for empire, the Carthaginian. Ill would it become the friends of Rome to waste such a day in wrangling and contention: we should now be returning thanks to the immortal gods for the signal protection they afforded us in that glorious conflict. Let us leave, then, this fellow with himself, and ascend together to the capitol, to offer to Jupiter the Deliverer; who, on all occasions as well as this, hath from my early youth vouchsafed to bestow upon me the growing power and the constant disposition to support the honour of the country: and let no god, auspicious to Rome, be left uninvoked, that the state in its distresses may never want such servants as I have still endeavoured to approve myself.' — When he had said this, he stepped from the rostrum and left the forum empty; all the people followed him to the capitol.

"That the people followed him is not surely the marvellous part of the story. The thing to be admired is, that a statesman should lead the people to prayers. This, indeed, is the last service a patriot-minister can render to his country: and I am well persuaded (so exactly does the example fit the occasion), that our illustrious Modern would have deemed it the crown of his labours to have animated his fellow-citizens with a spirit of true piety towards God, as successfully as he inflamed them with a spirit of zeal and fortitude for the King and constitution."

* "Scipio Africanus; who restored his country by carrying the war from Rome to Carthage."

man may chance to be possessed, his gratitude is the most pretending : all the others are content when their owner has his due, in the pleasure which a self-conscious mind affords him. But this secret testimony is not enough for *gratitude* ; which is restless and uneasy, till it be more publicly known for what it is. Whether, indeed, this quality in mine arises altogether from its purity, I might honestly make a doubt ; for there are some characters so high, and consequently the favours they bestow are so flattering to our vanity, that the publishing of them has often more of that silly meanness in it, than of the generous pride of gratitude. However, let the motive which now urges mine, be of what complexion it will, I am sure to be a gainer by the world's knowing how much I am, and how much I profess myself to be, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and
most faithful servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

MR. PITT TO THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

[From an imperfect draught in Mr. Pitt's hand-writing.]

[October, —, 1762.]

MY LORD,

A SEVERE cold, which much indisposed me, has prevented my sooner acknowledging the honour

of your very kind letter ; a painful delay, under a real impatience to tell your Lordship (if words could tell) that I feel all the extent of your Lordship's partial opinion, and warm friendship. The Scipios, my dear Lord, are, alas ! no more. Such effusions of virtue upon feeble man ceased with that apostolic age of patriotism, as miraculous powers determined with the first age of the church. The puny moderns rise not to the faintest resemblance of Roman energy ; at best, 'tis but the smoke of that noble fire. In one single point, indeed, your Lordship gives this age the advantage ; by affording us grounds to carry our admiration of the extensive powers of universal learning higher than ancient Rome could have a right to do.

Now, my good Lord, a sincere friend as well as open, will I know, be pardoned by you a free observation or two. The true sentiments of friendship impel me to confess, I wish one passage in the able tract totally expunged. " If," you say, " the idea we have here given of the test law be the true, it is apparent that the general, though not immediate purpose of the legislature, in their law, was to provide for the safety of the national church, from what quarter soever the danger might arise : at one season it might spring from Popery, at another from Puritanism ; but the various mischiefs were to be repelled, as they sprung up, with equal vigilance and vigour."

Now, my Lord, however this position seems qualified by the distinction which follows in favour

of the Dissenters' errors, the passage nevertheless expressly asserts this opinion ; viz. that the errors of the Puritans, which turn upon the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and upon church government, are to be repelled equally with the errors of Rome ; that is, equally with rank idolatry — a subversion of all civil as well as religious liberty, and the utter disgrace of reason and of human nature.

Next, with regard to the abuses of liberty, that of the press included, it is advanced, that “an ill-judged connivance at particular abuses will, in no long time, necessitate government, even to save itself from ruin, to provide some *general law* for the prevention of abuses ; and then there will remain, to fill up the measure, only one abuse more to be put in practice, and that the easiest of all, whenever ministers may be so disposed ; I mean, the abuse of that general preventive law, to the destruction of liberty itself ; which law the guardians of liberty had, as their last effort, so improvidently and so improperly contrived for its support.”

Now, my Lord, allow me to observe, that the bare supposition of a possibility that the guardians of liberty could ever be induced to pass such a law appears to me big with danger, and totally unnecessary to your Lordship's subject, and may, contrary to your Lordship's intention, seem to be breaking the way for an idea that must revolt every friend to liberty.

I again repeat my hopes of pardon upon two

matters so near my heart, — a preference of the reformed religion, even in this least commendable of its modes, compared to the horrors of Rome ; and the sacred liberty of the press, unshackled by any general preventive law, in any case possible to suppose.

I am, &c.

W. PITT.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, November 14, 1762.

HONOURED SIR,

OUR delight in hearing of and from you is so often abated with the knowledge of the interruptions which your health suffers, that we are sufficiently put in mind of the difference between a Roman and an English climate. Our soil, perhaps, is more propitious to liberty than the other ; but I am sure, on more accounts than one, it is less benignant to the protectors of it. And this, I believe, is all the difference that any one will find between our modern and the ancient Scipio.

Sir, I hold myself infinitely obliged to you for your goodness in your kind remarks on two important passages. In p. 272, I have certainly expressed myself very ill (and will as certainly reform it), while I am understood by so accurate a judge “ expressly to assert this opinion, viz. that the errors of the Puritans, which turn upon the use of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and church

government, ought to be repressed equally with the errors of Rome ;” whereas my opinion is, and ever was, that the state has nothing at all to do with errors in religion, nor the least right so much as to attempt to repress them. Mischiefs, indeed, I said should be repressed ; but by this I meant civil mischiefs arising from religious quarrels, when two churches in a tolerating country are pretty nearly equal in power (as I suppose they would soon be without a test law), and are for repressing one another’s errors. The occasion of my saying this arose from my observing, that the test law was made to provide for the safety of the national church ; a provision not for the sake of religion, but of civil peace. For if one church is to be established, and all the rest tolerated, it is for the peace, as well as honour of the state, that the tolerated should be debarred the power of disturbing the established, in the enjoyment of the legal rights of an establishment.

And with regard to differences in religious opinions, the rage of dissenting quarrels has generally been observed to rise highest where the difference has been the least ; as between the two sects of Omar and Ali amongst the Mahometans, of Molinists and Jansenists amongst the Papists, of Calvinists and Arminians amongst the foreign Protestants, and of Puritans and Episcopalians at home ; just as we see the nearest relatives of the same house : when they fall out, though it be about trifles, the quarrel is generally prosecuted with more acrimony and determined resentment, than

disputes of moment between strangers. It was the sense of this which made me say, that the civil mischiefs which might arise from Puritanism were to be watched with equal vigilance, and repelled with equal vigour, as those from Popery ; but, with regard to the nature of the religious errors of each, the difference was immense.

For the rest, I have always regarded Popery rather as an impious and impudent combination against the sense and the rights of mankind, than a species of religion ; while the differences which divide us and the Dissenters are of so trifling a nature, that *their* making a schism rather than conform, and *our* hazarding one rather than to indulge them in their scruples, will be the eternal opprobrium of both the churches.

As to the other point, concerning the liberty of the press, your superior knowledge of courts, and indeed of all orders in society, makes you so perfect a judge of the consequences in restraining the *abuses* of the press, that my absurdity would not deserve so mitigated a name as vanity, did I not distrust my own opinion, or did I not entirely trust to yours. I shall therefore strike out that whole passage. (1) I have the honour and the happiness to be, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged and
most devoted servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

(1) In the second edition of the Discourse, which appeared in the following year, the passage relating to the liberty of the press objected to by Mr. Pitt is omitted.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

October 10, 1762.

You have no doubt, heard of the duel. Lord Talbot insisted by letter, or rather by many letters, upon knowing whether Mr. Wilkes owned or disowned being author of the North Briton of the 21st of August. Mr. Wilkes never would admit his right of catechising him, and told him from the first, if that did not satisfy his lordship, he was ready at all times to give him any other satisfaction becoming a gentleman. At last they met by appointment at Bagshot. Colonel Berkeley⁽¹⁾ Lord Talbot's second, and Wilkes's adjutant his: they fired one pistol each; upon which Wilkes says, he ran up to him and told him he was the author of every word of that paper. His lordship said, he had had his satisfaction and was contented; and the whole concluded with drinking a bottle of claret together.⁽²⁾

There are many other curious particulars; but

⁽¹⁾ Afterwards Lord Botetourt. He was at this time member for Gloucestershire, and groom of the bedchamber.

⁽²⁾ In an account of this duel, drawn up by Wilkes, as soon as it was over, and dated from the Red Lion at Bagshot, he says,—"We left the inn, and walked to a garden at some distance from the house. It was near seven, and the moon shone very bright; both our fires were in very exact time, but neither took effect. I walked up immediately to Lord Talbot, and told him that I now avowed the papers. His lordship desired that we might now be good friends, and retire to the inn to drink a bottle of claret together; which we did with great good humour, and much laugh."

now no more. I hope, at the same time, it is universally known how much Mr. Pitt and I disapprove of this paper war, and the daily abominations which are published; though, because Wilkes professes himself a friend of mine, I am for ever represented infamously as a patron of what I disapprove, and wish I could have put an end to; but, *non mene curo*.⁽¹⁾ Ever yours,

TEMPLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

November —, 1762

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

GASCOYNE has been here: much dealing with Fox; but I think he is firm. The Duke of Devonshire tells me I may depend upon Lord Hardwicke, and his son in the House of Commons, taking their part against the vote of approbation. Gascoyne thinks if Mr. Pitt comes many of the Tories will be staggered. Shelley tells me the whole of the party will go against the vote of approbation. Some of the sanguine ones talk pretty high as to numbers. The Duke of Devon-

(1) This passage is satisfactory, as containing Lord Temple's undisguised opinion of the demagogue's writings, which opinion has been industriously misrepresented; especially by Almon, in his *Memoirs of Wilkes*, — "than which," says Mr. Southey, in his *Life of Cowper*, "a more catch-penny work has seldom issued from the press."

shire says, he thinks Charles Townshend will resign. May the good genius of England protect Mr. Pitt, and bring him tolerably well (I dare not hope more) to town! Ever most affectionately yours,

TEMPLE. ⁽¹⁾

(¹) The preliminaries of peace were signed and interchanged on the 3rd of November, and the parliament assembled on the 25th. As no traces of the debates which took place on the first day of the session have been preserved, the following account of what passed, and of the state of public feeling out of doors, contained in a letter from Mr. Symmers to Mr. Mitchell, will be acceptable:—“Yesterday I was carried to the House of Lords by Lord Hillsborough; who, with some difficulty, got me introduced, and placed me near the throne. There I had the pleasure of hearing a very proper speech, delivered in a noble and pathetic manner, by one of the most graceful princes of the age. The speech was followed by the motion for the address by Lord Egmont (who spoke like — the master of the post-office), and was seconded by Lord Weymouth, who spoke with grace and dignity, though with the timidity of a young man. It passed unanimously. What passed in the House of Commons was similar to this. Lord Carysfort moved, and Lord Charles Spencer seconded. The house was unanimous; but Mr. Beckford, now lord mayor, had his vagaries as usual, and gave the house a little prelude of what they were to expect more at large when the masters mount the stage. Lord Temple was not in the House of Lords, and neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox in the House of Commons. The opposition will open upon the preliminaries laid before parliament, and is likely to be more formidable than was at first imagined. Several great personages have of late declared themselves in it; the Duke of Cumberland, and the whole house of Yorke (I mean the Hardwicke family): but it is thought that all who will are now declared; so that the first division in each house will show the powers of the parties. If the whole opposition lay within doors, it would still be more tolerable, as it is not unconstitutional; but, alas! there is reason to apprehend it extends without doors. Such a mob was perhaps never seen, in our time, between Charing-cross and Westminster-hall.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, December 3rd, 1762.

HONOURED SIR,

ON my coming to town I thought it but decent, as I had not seen the Duke of Newcastle since his resignation, to wait upon him with my compliments, which I did yesterday ; when he showed his confidence in me by the following commission, which he intrusted to me. He said I might be of use to the public by assuring you of his disposition towards you (whom he spoke of as all the world does) ; that you had acted together, generally with the same, though sometimes with different sentiments ; but that now, if your joint endeavours to serve the public should point the same way, I was commissioned by his Grace to assure you, you should for the future have no reason to complain of his perfect accord and union with you.

This, I think, is the substance of what I had to say, without knowing further from his Grace,

The King's magnificent new coach might be supposed to have brought them together ; but, what kept them there after the coach had gone back is, perhaps, not so satisfactory to think of. In short, Lord Bute was insulted, both going and coming from the house ; and, towards evening, some soldiers were called in to support the constables in the discharge of their duty in clearing of the streets, so that the members might get away." — *Mitchell MSS.*

for what particular end and purpose I was to say it: but, if I be not mistaken, I think he said he had desired his royal highness, the Duke of Cumberland⁽¹⁾, to urge the same thing, with proper explanations.

Sir, your known goodness to me will be ready to pardon this impertinence. In these strange times I am sure but of one thing, — your continued love and service of the public; but that one thing is a very great one, when I consider what a capacity is joined to that disposition. I have the honour to be, most dear Sir,

Your most obliged and
devoted servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

(¹) In a letter to General Conway, of the 29th of October, Horace Walpole says, "I have been in town but once since this last revolution, which has brought Mr. Fox again upon the scene; yet I have learned enough to confirm the opinion I had conceived, that the building is tottering, and that this last buttress will but push on its fall. Besides the clamorous opposition already encamped, the world talks of another, composed of names not so often in mutiny. What think you of the great duke, and the little duke, and the old duke, and the Derbyshire duke*, banded together against the Favourite?" And, on the 13th of November, Lord Chesterfield thus writes to his son:—"I should naturally think, that this session will be a stormy one; that is, if Mr. Pitt takes an active part; but if he is pleased, as the ministers say he is, there is no other Æolus to blow a storm. The Dukes of Cumberland, Newcastle, and Devonshire have no better troops to attack with, than the militia; but Pitt alone is *ipse agmen*."

* The Dukes of Cumberland, Bedford, Newcastle, and Devonshire.

THE HON. THOMAS HERVEY ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Bond Street, December 5, 1762.

MY DEAR SIR,

IF any power were left me, either of mind or body, for such a disquisition, I could write very copiously to you concerning the present crisis. When I read the preliminaries of our precipitated peace, I could not avoid saying, to myself at least, what Antony says over the corpse of his friend Cæsar — Alas, great Pitt! are all thy conquests, trophies, spoils, shrunk to this little measure? ⁽²⁾ For truth's sake; for your reputation's sake, and, above all, for the sake of your many staunch and invariable friends, recompense the cordial compliment I am making you, by testifying to the public, that you think with me upon this important measure.

⁽¹⁾ Second son of John, first earl of Bristol, and brother of the nobleman whose character Pope has delineated under the name of Sporus, and of the hon. Henry Hervey, the early friend of Dr. Johnson. He served in three parliaments for the borough of St. Edmundsbury, was surveyor of the royal gardens, and died in 1775. His celebrated Letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer, with whose wife he had eloped, appeared in 1742. Boswell, on the authority of Mr. Beauclerk, relates, that he had a great liking for Johnson, and had left him a legacy of fifty pounds, but afterwards gave it him in his lifetime. See Boswell's Johnson, vol. iii. p. 17. ed. 1835.

⁽²⁾ "O mighty Cæsar! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure?" — *Julius Cæsar*, act 3. sc. 1.

Exclusive of the considerations I have mentioned to you, the vanity of your opposition is as visible to me, as the vanity of all things was to Solomon; and therefore it is to be hoped, that you will not abide the issue of my prediction, till, like him, you find it verified by the test of experience. Had the Duke of Newcastle quitted his employment at the time of your resignation, his Grace had then made one right judgment of things before he died; and might have succeeded in that, which is not at present to be effected.

What part you intend to take upon this emergency is a point that puzzles our ablest politicians. New rumours and surmises are almost daily set on foot and circulated, and they are agreed in nothing, but their impatience for the event. (1) You are still

(1) On the 9th of December, Mr. Pitt, although very ill, came down to the house, to state his objections to the preliminaries of peace. His speech, which lasted three hours and forty minutes, embraced every topic of objection. He declared, although he was at that instant suffering under the most excruciating torture, that he had determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend that day to raise up his voice, his hand, and his arm against the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by abandoning our allies. He proceeded to analyse every part of the stipulations; which he stigmatised in general with unqualified censure. The only particulars which met his approbation were the dereliction of North America by the French, and the restitution of Minorca. He expatiated at great length on the German connection; and affirmed, that the desertion of the King of Prussia was insidious, tricking, base, and treacherous. In conclusion, he said the terms of the proposed treaty met his most hearty disapprobation; for he saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was

beloved and revered by the patriot band, and still possessed of a dignity never conferred on any other man ; that of being deemed, and even called, the people's minister. Your own firmness will keep firm this glorious basis ; and as long as you continue to rest and build upon it, they that do not love you must ultimately find it necessary to have you. I am telling you these things, as the last efforts of my friendship ; for I am wasting my life in such incessant constraint and pain, that, if you loved me as well as you do your wife and children, you would not wish the duration of it. Adieu.

THO. HERVEY.

insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness ; it was inadequate, because the places retained were no equivalent for those surrendered. Mr. Pitt was so feeble at the beginning of his speech, that he was supported by two of his friends ; but his pain increasing as he proceeded, he was allowed the unprecedented indulgence of delivering his sentiments sitting.* Towards the close of his speech he was so ill that he could scarcely be heard. He intended to have spoken to some points relative to Spain, but was unable, and left the house in an agony of pain, before the division.

* Mr. Hatsell, in the first edition of his " *Precedents*," says, " I remember two instances of the House's permitting members to speak sitting ; one was Mr. Pitt, in his *very long* speech against the peace of 1762." To this passage, in subsequent editions, he added : — " Mr. Pitt spoke for three hours and forty minutes. This, at the time of the first publication of this volume, entitled me to call his speech *very long*. The later practice (contrary to the recommendation of Cicero, — ' *ut modo, ne sit infinitus ; nam brevis in sententia, senatoris laus est* ') has rendered this epithet improper." The speech of Mr. (now Lord) Brougham, in February 1828, on moving for a commission to enquire into the state of the common law courts, occupied nearly *seven* hours.

THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQ. (1) TO MR. PITT.

Pall Mall, December 21, 1762.

SIR,

I HAVE been much embarrassed by the receipt of the enclosed letter and papers, which were wholly unexpected. At length I resolve to send them to you as I received them: forgive their liberty who wrote them, for they are ingenuous; and mine who send them, for I mean well. Retain the dedication, I request; and bestow on me beneficently, such an answer as I wish to send, and they to receive.

For the sincerity of the dedication, I appeal to the suffrages of the English people in Runymead, in general assembly convened, or any such hallowed spot; or to foreigners, every where. Sir, you have surprised, astonished, us all, on a late remark-

(1) Of Corscombe, in the county of Dorset. The following quaint character of this extraordinary man appeared in one of the public prints some years before his death:—"Thomas Hollis is a gentleman possessed of a large fortune, above the half of which he devotes to charities, to the encouragement of genius, and to the support and defence of liberty. Wherever he meets the man of letters, he is sure to assist him; and were I to describe in paint this illustrious citizen, I would depict him leading by the hands Genius and distressed Virtue to the temple of Reward." He was a fellow of the Royal, the Antiquarian, and other learned societies, and made many valuable presents to the British Museum. He died in 1774; and in 1781, his *Memoirs*, compiled by Archdeacon Blackburne, were printed in two volumes quarto, "as a lasting monument of one, who was nobly and ingenuously devoted to the services of his country by deeds of peace."

able occasion. It brought honest Lucan to my mind —

“ *Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.* (1)

I am, with unfeigned and deepest respect and reverence,

Your most obedient servant,

THOMAS HOLLIS.

[The enclosures spoken of were a letter from Mr. Taylor How, then residing at Pisa, to Mr. Hollis, announcing the intention of Count Algarotti to dedicate his forthcoming “*Essay on the Opera*” to Mr. Pitt, and also a copy of the proposed dedication, in the Count’s hand-writing; of which the following is a transcript.]

‘A GUGLIELMO PITT FRANCESCO ALGAROTTI (2)

Pisa, 18 Novembre, 1762.

SEMBRERÀ ad alcuni assai strano, che à Voi, uomo immortale, che nella vostra nazione sapeste riaccendere il nativo valore, sapeste provveder per sempre alla sua difesa, et la faceste in un medesimo anno trionfare nelle quattro parti del mondo, venga intitolato uno scritto, che ragione da poesia, di musica, di cose da teatro.

(1) “ The gods and Cato did in this divide;
They chose the conquering, he the conquer’d side.”

(2) Algarotti was born at Venice in 1712, and when young paid a visit to England. His first publication was the “*Newtonianismo per le Dame*,” which was translated into English by Mrs. Carter. He afterwards visited Berlin, where he was much caressed by Frederick the Great; who bestowed on him the post of chamberlain, the order of merit, and the title of count. He died in 1764. An edition of his works, in seventeen volumes octavo, appeared at Venice in 1794.

Ma pare che ignorino costoro, come il Restitu-
tore della Inghilterra, l'Amico del gran Federigo,
sa ancora munire il suo ozio co' presidj delle Let-
tere, e come quella sua vittoriosa eloquenza, colla
quale egli tuona in senato, non è meno l'effetto
della elevatezza del suo animo, che dello studio
da lui posto nei Tullj, e nei Demosteni, antecessori
suoi.

Possa solamente questo mio scritto esser da
tanto, che trovi anch' esso un luogo nell'ozio eru-
dito di un tal uomo, e giunga ad ottenere il suf-
fragio di colui, che ne' più alti uffizj dello stato,
ha meritato l'ammirazione e l'applauso di tutta
Europa.

FRANCESCO ALGAROTTI.⁽¹⁾

(1) " It will appear, to some persons, sufficiently strange, that to you, immortal man, who know how to rekindle in your nation her native valour, to provide for her perpetual defence, and who caused her, in one and the same year, to triumph in the four quarters of the globe, should be dedicated a work which treats of poetry, music, and theatrical subjects.

" But it seems that these are not aware, that the Restorer of England, the Friend of the Great Frederic, knows also to invigorate his leisure with the powers of literature, and that that victorious eloquence, with which he thunders in the senate, is no less the effect of the elevation of his mind, than of his studies in Tully and Demosthenes, his predecessors.

" May even this treatise be considered worthy of a place in the leisure of such a man, and obtain the suffrage of one who, in the highest offices of the state, has deserved the admiration and applause of all Europe."

MR. PITT TO THOMAS HOLLIS, ESQ.

[From a draught in the hand-writing of Lady Chatham.]

Hayes, December —, 1762.

Mr. Pitt, whose hand is still unable to lend its office to what his heart dictates to Mr. Hollis, must employ another's pen to convey his warm sense of that noble testimony, with which the spirit itself of liberty, under the name of Hollis, crowns his unavailing endeavours. However partial the suffrage, Mr. Pitt as affectionately cherishes the kindness of it, as he truly respects its authority.

With regard to the great honour destined to him from Pisa, Mr. Pitt blushes while he reads, and while he answers; and, standing as an example of human vanity, accepts with pride, what he too well knows he has not the least title to receive. Little did he dream that his name was to live to posterity, before Count Algarotti, by joining it with his own, forbid it to die, till literature shall be no more; thus giving him to be indeed *immortal*.

Mr. Pitt desires the favour of Mr. Hollis to convey to Count Algarotti, as soon as may be, these sentiments of respect and gratitude; at the same time offering to Mr. How his best acknowledgments, with the assurance of great esteem and consideration.

BAMBER GASCOYNE, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

John Street, December 22, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

THE liberty I take of thus abruptly breaking into your retirement is to be justified by nothing but the necessity of the thing itself. The friendship you have honoured me with, and the public and private esteem I bear you, make me fearful of taking any step in a public situation without your advice ; and this emboldens me to ask it.

The offer of coming into the board of trade is now made me without conditions, and in a more eligible manner than before offered. Believe me, Sir, when I say, in this affair I have no wish of my own : I have attached myself to you upon principle, gratitude, and respect ; and could I flatter myself that my going into office was likely to impede any operation of yours, I should never forgive myself. At the same time, permit me with the greatest sincerity to assure you, that whatever station I may be in, I shall be ever ready

(¹) Mr. Gascoyne was at this time member for Malden. He was the only son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, knight, lord mayor of London in 1753 ; and maternally descended from Dr. Bamber, a celebrated physician, anatomist, and accoucheur, who, by this union of the three professions, acquired a considerable fortune, and in Hogarth's "Consultation of Physicians" is handed down to posterity. Mr. Gascoyne declined the proffered situation at this time, but accepted it on the formation of the Duke of Bedford's administration in the following April. He was afterwards successively appointed receiver-general of the customs, and one of the lords of the admiralty. He died in 1791.

to come forth, and shall esteem myself more honoured to be in action with you, than to sit in any official dignity whatever. A short line from you, freely declaring your opinion or your wish in this matter, will infinitely oblige your sincere friend, and ever most devoted humble servant,

BAMBER GASCOYNE.

MR. PITT TO BAMBER GASCOYNE, ESQ.

Hayes, December 22, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

HARDLY able to hold a pen, I must not commit to another's hand my answer to the favour of your obliging letter; and, indeed, the matter of it is so delicate (at the same time that the manner is so kind towards me), that I frankly own I cannot offer you any advice. Your own sense of things must alone guide you in determining, whether you like to take part with the present system of measures and ministry; and in determining this question, you will do it upon the surest grounds, if you follow the convictions of your own manly heart and understanding.

As I never in my life expressed my wish to any friend, either for their accepting or declining office, I beg your forgiveness if I desire, upon this occasion, not to break a rule which I have made inviolable. One general wish, my dear Sir, I sincerely form for you; which is, that the future

course of your political life — whatever determination you shall think right for your country to make' — may prove as full of satisfaction and consideration to you, as your merits and talents deserve.

I account myself highly honoured by the too favourable and the very friendly sentiments, which you are so good as to express on my subject ; and am, with all regard, my dear Sir,

Your faithful friend, and

obliged humble servant,

W. PITT. (1)

(1) The unpromising state of the Duke of Newcastle's party, at the close of the year 1762, is thus feelingly depicted in a letter from Mr. Symmers to Mr. Mitchell, written on the 31st of December : — " At present we have nothing to talk of but changes, which fall heavy on the Duke of Newcastle's party. All those of his Grace's friends whom he has drawn into opposition with him are, or will be, turned out. It moves one to compassion to think of the poor old Duke himself, — a man once possessed of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum of landed estate, with eleven thousand pounds in emoluments of government, now reduced to an estate of scarcely six thousand per annum, and going into retirement (not to say sinking into contempt) with not so much as a feather in his cap, and but such a circle of friends as he has deprived of their places. The three lieutenancies he had, the last things he continued to hold, have this last week been all taken from him ! " Lord Barrington also, on the 18th of January, thus writes : — " You ask me what are the object and intention of our old friend the Duke : they were, to force out the administration and to force himself in with full powers. This having failed, I think he is at a loss how to act. Wisdom and virtue prescribe retirement and quiet, though too late and with a bad grace ; but, as you well observe, ' the best and most moderate, when formed into party, may be carried lengths they never intended to go.' I, therefore,

SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Lyons, December 23, 1762.

MY DEAR SIR,

IT is a long while since I have written to you, being unwilling to trouble you with an idle correspondence, and for some time past I have been deprived of the use of my pen. This will probably find you in your sweet retreat, surrounded by your pretty prattlers. I should be happy to hear that, like another Socrates, you were playing at shuttlecock with them. ⁽¹⁾ Your wisdom appears alike, my dear Sir, in every thing; in retirement as in business; in your firmness and moderation; in the part you do take, and in that you do not take with others, according to your late declaration.

The Bishop of Carlisle ⁽²⁾ has, I conclude, agree-

stopped at the threshold, and I have that satisfaction upon reflection which you so kindly foretel. I should, indeed, be perfectly happy in my present situation, if I did not continually lament that of my benefactor and friend, who can never more enjoy happiness or quiet; a circumstance which does not give less concern because it is of his own making. All those who followed his ideas in either house of parliament are removed from their employments, and also those very near and dear to me; nor is there any appearance they will ever be reinstated or recompensed." — *Mitchell MSS.*

⁽¹⁾ Sir Richard's speculation on Mr. Pitt's occupations appears to have been correct, as the following extract of a note addressed by him to Lady Chatham will testify:—"The principal event of Hayes is Hetty's chase of a butterfly, which she pursued over the daisy lawn, with the ardour of a little nymph of Dian's train; the sport was growing too hot, and we wisely agreed to whip off, and renew the hunt another day."

⁽²⁾ Dr. Charles Lyttelton, brother of Sir Richard and of Lord Lyttelton, born at Hagley, in 1714, and educated at Eton

ably to my desire, given you the earliest communication of the offer the King has been pleased to make me of the government of Minorca. I received, in a most obliging letter from Lord Bute, this most gracious instance of his Majesty's continued goodness to me, with that duty and respectful acknowledgment that became me, and made a suitable reply to the friendliness of his lordship's letter, and the kind part he took in it. I am persuaded, my dear Sir, that you will approve of my conduct in this matter, with that kindness and partiality with which you have ever distinguished me. I am

Your affectionate humble servant,

RICHARD LYTTTELTON.

MR. PITT TO SIR RICHARD LYTTTELTON.

[January —, 1763.]

MY DEAR SIR,

LITTLE able to use my hand, from succession of severe fits of gout, I make an effort with my pen

and at University College, Oxford. He studied at the Inner Temple, and became a barrister-at-law; but, entering into holy orders in 1742, he was in March 1762, consecrated bishop of Carlisle. He died unmarried in 1768. He was a great contributor to the "Archæologia," and bequeathed his valuable collection of manuscripts to the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was president. Dean Milles, who succeeded him in the presidency, sums up his character in these words: — "His literary merit received an additional lustre from the affability of his temper, the gentleness of his manners, and the benevolence of his heart: his doors were always open to his friends; amongst whom none were more welcome to him than the friends of literature, which he endeavoured to promote in all its various branches."—See *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. xli.

to acknowledge the very obliging favour of your letter from Lyons, of the 23rd past. How shall I find words to thank you for all the affectionate sentiments which you are so good as to express, relating to domestic events, which arrive to your village-friend and humble servant? How kind are your thoughts, in following him into the small but endearing occupations of such a retirement as that to which he has been driven; where I fairly own that Lady Chatham and I find much delight in the little sage discourses of the diminutive philosophers who surround us. But for an unlucky jaunt last summer into Wiltshire, here, my dear Sir Richard, I should be happy indeed; and with a happiness too large and too perfect for a mortal man, had England been suffered to become what favouring Providence seemed to intend it to be. But I avert my mind from this contemplation, devoutly wishing that the progress of our country's decadence may not be so rapid as my mind forebodes.

As for whatever touches your particular welfare and happiness, my dear Sir Richard, I have only to wish, that you may find all satisfaction and consideration in the gracious mark of the King's favour, which you tell me you have accepted, and of which the Bishop of Carlisle had before your letter informed me; and that you may bring home much health, with all your own happy, social gaiety of temper, to enjoy amongst your friends all that is agreeable to you. I am, &c. W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO BARON DE KNYPHAUSEN. (1)

Hayes, ce 8^{me} Fevrier, 1763.

MONSIEUR,

AYANT appris, avec bien du regret, que nous sommes sur le point de vous perdre, j'ai encore celui de me trouver, par un retour de goutte depuis quelques jours, hors d'état de me donner l'honneur de me présenter chez vous, pour vous embrasser avant votre départ. Permettez donc, que je vous adresse ce mot de lettre, pour vous offrir tous les sentimens d'une estime respectueuse pour votre personne, et pour ces talens distingués, qui vous destinent à de plus grandes choses. Vous allez avoir la félicité de revoir, et la gloire de servir, un Roi, qui sera l'étonnement de tous les siècles, Oserois-je aspirer de ma part à supplier, que ce Monarque daigne songer, que, dans un village d'Angleterre, il y a un homme, qui fait sa plus douce consolation de le voir triompher de tous ses ennemis, et de contempler, dans les merveilles de son regne héroïque, jusqu' où la nature humaine peut aller.

Je me flatte que vous voudrez bien me conserver une place dans votre souvenir, et ne jamais douter des sentimens d'attachement et de considération, avec lesquels je ne cesserai d'être, &c.

W. PITT.

(1) The Prussian minister at the court of London. See vol. I. p. 206. The baron left England a few days after the date of this letter, and was succeeded by M. Michell, hitherto chargé d'affaires.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, February 22, 1763

HONOURED SIR,

YOUR and good Lady Chatham's kind inquiries after me were the greatest consolation to me under my unhappy accident⁽¹⁾; and I was impatient till I could make my acknowledgments under my own hand. They tell me the case goes on very prosperously; which, next to the mercy of Providence, we ascribe to a long habit of temperance; a temperance, indeed, which has little other merit in it, for I think I stumbled upon it in the pursuit of pleasure.

Your account, Sir, of your own state of health fills me with the sincerest grief. You have given superfluous health to a nation, and we use it as men are wont to use their superfluous health. You never misapplied your *natural* health, yet want it in the midst of the abundance you have given of the *civil*; but, Providence has been your guide and conductor, and I am sure is your great confidence.

I have the honour and happiness to be, Sir,

Your most obliged and

most devoted servant,

W. GLOUCESTER.

(¹) In January, the bishop had had the misfortune to break his left arm, by a fall in the garden of Prior Park; the ill effects of which he felt for several months. In a letter to a friend, written in May, he says, "Be not under too much concern for

WILLIAM TAYLOR HOW, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Pisa, February 21, 1763.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to address this letter to you, in pursuance of a commission with which I have been favoured by Count Algarotti; who, since the intelligence arrived from Mr. Hollis, of your most gracious acceptance of the treatise proposed to be dedicated to you, has taken all imaginable pains to equip it as soon as possible, in order to send it out on its voyage to the most illustrious of patrons. On Thursday last I consigned to the care of Captain George Max of the *Groignard*, now ready to sail from Leghorn, a packet directed to you by Count Algarotti; in which are enclosed two copies of the *Essay upon the Opera in Music*, bound in Spanish leather, two in calf, and three in parchment. Count Algarotti only begs that you will be so obliging as to present one of these in his name to my Lord Temple, and accept the rest for yourself.

I have had an awe upon me in writing, Sir, that has continually checked me with the fear of

my hand. I, whose life is a warfare upon earth (that is to say, with bigots and libertines, against whom I have denounced eternal war, like Hannibal against Rome at the altar), have reason to be thankful that the debility is not in my *sword-hand*."

⁽¹⁾ Of Standon-place, Essex. Mr. How was an honorary member of Pembroke Hall, and at this time on his travels in Italy.

taking too much liberty ; and yet I flatter myself, that a man of your penetration will easily distinguish a simple good meaning from affectation and impertinence.

I am, Sir, with admiration and respect, &c.

WILLIAM TAYLOR HOW.

COUNT ALGAROTTI TO MR. PITT.

Pisa, 28 Febbraio, 1763.

ECCELLENZA,

QUELL' omaggio che io ho reso à vostra Eccellenza in publico, la supplico permettermi di renderle ora in privato, e di ringraziarla nel medesimo tempo della permissione, che mi ha benignamente accordata di manifestare quello, che la virtù sua crea in cuore di tutti coloro che pensono. Ben vorrei, che tale fosse la mia operetta da portare degnamente in fronte un così gran nome come è il suo ; vorrei aver formato uno spettacolo, a cui potesse assistere Pericle. ⁽¹⁾

Ardirei pregare vostra Eccellenza di offrire à my lord Temple uno dei libretti, che riceverà, secondo che ha avuto l'onore di scriverle giorni sono, il suo grande ammiratore, e amico mio, il Signor Guglielmo Taylor How. Mi figuro bene

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Pitt says, in a note to Mr. How, "the Essay on the Opera in Music is indeed a master-piece in its kind. What order, light, and interest thrown into a confused, dark, and, till now, but little affecting matter !

" ' Tenuis labor, at tenuis non gloria ! ' "

spesso in ispirito di tornare nel delizioso soggiorno di Stowe, e di far corte à vostra Eccellenza e à my lord, nel Tempio della Concordia ⁽¹⁾, in cui ella ha posto la pietra angolare; fabbrica rara, di cui vostra Eccellenza solamente poteva essere in Inghilterra il Palladio.

E col più profondo rispetto, ho l'onore di sottoscrivermi,

Di vostra Eccellenza,
umilissimo, devotissimo, obligatissimo servitor,
FRANCESCO ALGAROTTI. ⁽²⁾

(1) This temple, one of the principal ornaments in the gardens of Stowe, was designed by Kent, from the measurements of the maison-carrée at Nîmes, but was not completed till 1763; when it was dedicated by Lord Temple to Concord and Victory, as a monument of the glories of the war.

(2) "That homage which I have publicly rendered to your Excellency, I now beg leave to pay you in private; and, at the same time, to return you my thanks for the permission you have kindly given me openly to declare, that which your virtues have created in every thinking breast. Would that my little performance were worthy of the great name it bears! — that I had constructed a spectacle at which Pericles might have assisted!

"May I request your Excellency to present to my lord Temple one of the little books, which your great admirer and my friend, Mr. William Taylor How, has apprised you you will receive. I often fancy myself in the delightful residence of Stowe, paying my respects to you and to his lordship, in the Temple of Concord; in which you have laid the corner stone. Rare edifice! of which your Excellency, in England, could alone be the Palladio. I am, &c."

MR. PITT TO COUNT ALGAROTTI.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's hand-writing.]

HAPPY natures, whom science exalts and the humanizing arts adorn, are in nothing more distinguished from the rest of men, than by their peculiar delicacy in dispensing favours. The observation is indeed of very ancient date ; yet never did the truth which gave it birth display itself so pleasingly, as in your manner of conferring such accumulated honours upon me.

The public suffrage of Count Algarotti could leave nothing for my ambition to desire ; but feelings still more affecting could alone receive their gratification from the private flattering pledge of friendship, which your most obliging letter conveys. Thus it is, Sir, that you give fame and happiness ; yourself forgetting all the while how invaluable the gift is which you so generously bestow.

I did not lose a moment in giving Lord Temple the pleasure of having what you destined for him ; and he has charged me with assuring you, in the most expressive terms, that he is proud and happy to receive so kind a mark of Count Algarotti's remembrance, and that he begs to offer you his sincerest acknowledgments for the great honour of such a present. His lordship and I count the hours till our *Argo* arrives ; for your work, more impatiently desired than was the golden fleece of

old, has not yet reached England. The daily expectation of the ship's arrival has made me postpone till now what I can no longer delay ; which is to offer you, Sir, the respectful tribute of my warmest gratitude, and to assure you, that I shall never walk among the Elysian worthies, in that delightful garden you allude to, without my heart concurring with my imagination to place amidst that sacred band an illustrious son of modern Italy, whom old Rome would have viewed with joy, the Scipios have loved, and the court of Augustus have admired ; and whom a Monarch, who combines Augustus and Julius in one, has distinguished by his choice, and graced by his auspicious smiles.

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Sunday, March 27, 1763.

SIR,

LORD TEMPLE has just left me, after acquainting me with the purport of your speech, and the vote you gave in relation to the cyder bill ⁽¹⁾, which

(¹) As one of the ways and means of the year, a bill had been brought in, laying a duty upon cyder, and subjecting the makers of it to the laws of excise. In the course of its progress, Mr. Pitt strongly opposed it. "Every man's house was," he said "his castle ; and if this tax was endured, it would necessarily lead to the introduction of the excise laws into the domestic concerns of every private family, and to every species of the produce of land : the laws of excise were odious and grievous to

is to be read the second time to-morrow in the House of Lords⁽¹⁾; therefore, in consequence of what you have done, I shall regulate my conduct, without importuning you for any previous conference upon this subject. I own my pride consists in having your fiat; as no one can be with a more perfect esteem or true respect, than I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

BRISTOL.

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

Wednesday, April 6, 1763.

SIR,

LORD TEMPLE being now out of town makes me presume to communicate to you some changes in

the dealer, but intolerable to the private person." Mr. Grenville, although he admitted that the excise was odious, contended that the tax was unavoidable. "Where," he asked, "can you lay another tax of equal efficiency?" And he repeated several times, "Tell me where you can lay another tax—tell me where?" Upon which Mr. Pitt, in the words of a song at that time popular, replied, in a musical tone, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where!" This anecdote is related by Almon, and also by Mr. Butler in his *Reminiscences*; who adds, that the effect upon the house was irresistible, and settled on Mr. Grenville the appellation of "the gentle shepherd."

(¹) On the division upon the second reading, the numbers were, contents 83, not contents 49. This is said to have been the first time the Lords divided upon a money bill. The opposition to it was opened by the Earl of Hardwicke, who spoke in the house for the last time. He was answered by Lord Bute; whose mode of delivery was remarkably slow and solemn. It was in reference to this speech, that Charles Townshend humorously exclaimed,—"minute guns!"

the administration, which I was made acquainted with last night. The Earl of Bute intends to quit the treasury ; to take no other employment for the present, but to remain of the cabinet, and to be the personal friend of the King, though no longer the servant of the crown. Mr. Grenville is to succeed his lordship, to be chancellor of the exchequer, and the phantom of a prime minister : Mr. Fox goes into the House of Peers, as well as Sir Francis Dashwood : Lord Granby is sent for by a messenger to kiss hands, the latter end of this week, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland : Mr. Charles Townshend is to be offered the first seat at the admiralty board ; and, in case he accepts it, Lord Shelburne is to be the first commissioner of trade. Mr. Elliot is not to be brought forward, as their phrase runs, till affairs are riper.

Whether all, or any, of these removals will yet take place, it is impossible to determine ; but they were certainly fixed in this manner on Saturday. The ministerial resolutions are so fluctuating, that a sudden turn may perhaps make Lord Bute still determined on keeping things as they are ; but next Friday ⁽¹⁾ is the day now settled for the removals.

⁽¹⁾ In a letter to Mr. Montagu, dated " Friday night, late," Horace Walpole says, " To-day has been fatal to a whole nation ; I mean to the Scotch. Lord Bute resigned this morning. His intention was not even suspected till Wednesday. In short, there is nothing more or less than a panic. A fortnight's opposition has demolished that scandalous but vast majority, which a fortnight had purchased. He pleads to the world bad health ; to his friends, more truly, that the nation was set at him. He pretends to intend retiring absolutely, and giving no umbrage-

I will only add from myself, without making many comments, that if power is not placed in those hands, where superior abilities and inflexible integrity have a claim to its being lodged, it is indifferent to me who has the reins of government. I am, with the truest respect, and most sincere attachment, Sir, your most obedient, &c.

BRISTOL.

In the mean time, he is packing up a sort of ministerial legacy, which cannot hold even till next session. George Grenville is to be at the head of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Charles Townshend to succeed him, and Lord Shelburne Charles; Sir Charles Dashwood to have his barony of Despensers and the great wardrobe, in the room of Lord Gower, who takes the privy seal, if the Duke of Bedford takes the presidentship. You ask, what becomes of Mr. Fox? Not at all pleased with this sudden determination, which has blown up so many of his projects, and left him time to heat no more furnaces, he goes to France, by way of the House of Lords; but keeps his place and his tools till something else happens."

The causes of Lord Bute's determination to resign are thus stated by Lord Barrington, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, of the 10th of April:—"Lord Bute resigned last Friday. He will have no office; and declares he will not be a minister behind the curtain, but give up business entirely. The reasons he gives for this step are, that he finds the dislike to him has lessened the popularity which the King had, and ought to have; that he hopes his retirement will make things quiet, and his Majesty's government easy. To this public reason Lord Bute adds, that his health absolutely requires exercise and calmness of mind. He says, that he unwillingly undertook the business of a minister, on the King's absolute promise, that he might retire when the peace should be made. I am of opinion, that he had a clear and fully sufficient support in both houses of parliament; and therefore I deem his resignation voluntary. People are infinitely surprised at it: for my part, it is when a man accepts the ministry, not when he quits it, that my wonder is excited."

— *Mitchell MSS.*

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, April 9, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

THE surprising event, which was to have come out yesterday at court, but I hear is now put off till Monday, of my Lord Bute's resignation, and the appointment of Mr. George Grenville to be first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was so sudden and so extraordinary, that I cannot avoid troubling you with the few circumstances which I have learnt relating to it.

The first notice I had of it was in a letter from my nephew Onslow, which I received here on Thursday night, at ten o'clock ; and I own I thought it so weak and so improbable, that I gave little or no credit to it, till it was confirmed to me yesterday from London ; with these proofs of the verity of it, that Mr. Grenville had certainly said that he *was* to kiss hands as yesterday, and that my Lord Bute had sent for some of his friends, and had declared to them, that he intended to resign his employment, and to have nothing more to do with public business.

My Lord Bute and Mr. Fox have taken good care of their friends. A second reversion of so considerable an office as justice-clerk of Scotland, with that which he has already of keeper of the signet of Scotland, a place worth 1500*l.* per annum, for life, seems to me to be an ample reward for

Mr. Gilbert Elliot ; who has also an employment of treasurer of the chambers, worth between two and three thousand pounds per annum. The extravagant reversions to Jenkinson and Martin ⁽¹⁾, and the justice-general of Scotland for Mr. Mackenzie, are what have never been seen before. Mr. Fox also has filled the admiralty, and partly the treasury, with his creatures. I am glad our friend Stanley has absolutely refused the treasury ; as I am very sure Lord Granby will do the lieutenancy of Ireland. What my nephew Charles ⁽²⁾ will do, I can't pretend to say ; but I should hardly think he would act under George Grenville.

This whole system appears to me so weak and so absurd, that there is no reasoning upon it. Every body, I hear, laughs at it ; as indeed it deserves. This fact must be certain, that the minister was

(1) Samuel Martin, Esq., member for Camelford, and one of the secretaries of the treasury. "Bute and Fox," writes Walpole to Mr. Montagu, "have paid their bravoës magnificently : no less than fifty-two thousand pounds a year are granted in reversion ! *Young* Martin, who is older than I am, is named my successor ; but I intend he shall wait some years." (Walpole held the patent office of usher of the receipts of exchequer.) "Lord Granby has refused Ireland, and the Northumberlands are to transport their magnificence thither."

(2) In a letter to Mr. Mitchell, of the 19th, Lord Barrington says : — "Charles Townshend accepted the admiralty on Thursday, and went to kiss hands the next day ; but he brought Peter Burrell with him to court, and insisted he likewise should be one of the board. Being told that Lords Howe and Digby were to fill up the vacant seats at the admiralty, he declined accepting the office destined for him, and the next day received a dismission from the King's service. Lord Sandwich is actually first lord." — *Mitchell MSS.*

thoroughly frightened, from the universal resentment of the whole nation which he had drawn upon himself, and from the late appearances in both houses of parliament, and that he was determined to get out at any rate. I suppose he hopes to retain the same power and influence out of employment that he had in it ; but he may find that difficult. I question whether he has chosen the best person to act under him for that purpose.

I sent last night, by express to Newmarket, an account to the Duke of Devonshire of what I had heard. His grace will be in town to-morrow ; and I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you at my Lord Temple's on Tuesday.

I am, dear Sir, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO WILLIAM TAYLOR HOW, ESQ.

Hayes, May 2, 1763.

SIR,

I HAVE long waited, and still wait with extreme impatience, for Captain G. Max's arrival with the precious cargo consigned to his care.⁽¹⁾ Nothing but this daily expectation could have made me so long postpone expressing to you the just sense of the very obliging trouble you have been so good as to take in a matter which is every way so highly

(¹) See p. 212.

flattering to me. I esteem myself so fortunate in the favour of your acquaintance, that I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of endeavouring to cultivate it, at the risk of disobeying a kind of injunction from you not to answer the honour of your letter.

As the lands and seas which are between us have not put me out of the reach of hearing how much the world of letters and civil society owe to you, you will not wonder that I cannot content myself with feeling in silence, how happy my lot is to have obtained a place in your favourable opinion and friendly sentiments.

Accept, Sir, my grateful acknowledgments for all your favours ; and be persuaded that, wherever your pursuits of the arts and of literature, or your amusements lead you, you will be followed by constant wishes for your pleasure and welfare, from him who has the honour to subscribe himself, with sincere esteem and consideration,

Your most obedient &c.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

Hayes, June 2, 1763.

MY DEAR SIR,

HAVING declined accompanying Sir John Sebright in presenting the address from Bath ⁽¹⁾,

(1) "The victory in parliament being as complete as the minister could wish, he had nothing now to do but to try the force of corruption among the people, in order to obtain another

transmitted to us jointly by the town clerk, I think it, on all accounts, indispensably necessary, that I should inform you of the reason of my conduct. The epithet of *adequate* given to the peace contains a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impossible for me to obey the commands of the corporation in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive such a commission.

As to my opinion of the peace, I will only say, that I formed it with sincerity, according to such lights as my little experience and small portion of understanding could afford me. This conviction must remain to myself the constant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment.

Give me leave, my dear good Sir, to desire to convey through you to Mr. Mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, these my free sentiments; and, with the justest sense of their past goodness towards me, plainly to confess, that I perceive I am but ill qualified to form pretensions

mode of approbation. The lieutenants of counties had begging letters sent to them, entreating them to use their utmost influence towards procuring addresses. The mayors and other magistrates of corporations, the leading men in societies, and every person who had influence enough to collect ten or twelve men together, were all applied to for addresses in favour of the peace." — *History of the Minority*, p. 89.

to the future favour of gentlemen who are come to think so differently from me on matters of the highest importance to the national welfare.

I am ever, with respectful and affectionate esteem,
my dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,
and obliged humble servant,

W. PITT.

Lady Chatham joins with me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

RALPH ALLEN, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

MY DEAREST SIR,

IT is extremely painful to me to find, by the letter which you were pleased to send to me the 2nd of this month, that the word *adequate* in the Bath address has been so very offensive to you, as to hinder the sincerest and most zealous of your friends in the corporation from testifying for the future their great attachment to you.

Upon this occasion, in justice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not rest with them, but myself; who suddenly drew up that address to prevent their sending off another, which the mayor brought to me, in terms that I could not concur in. Copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to send

you in the inclosed paper, for your private perusal ; and Sir John Sebright having, in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck, only acquainted him, that in your absence in the country he delivered the address, I shall decline executing your commands to the corporation on this delicate point ; unless you renew them upon your perusal of this letter, which, for safety, I have sent by a messenger ; and I beg your answer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

Permit me to say, that I have not the least objection to, but feel the highest regard and even veneration for, your whole conduct ; neither have I any apology to make for the expression in which I am so unfortunate as to differ from you. And with the utmost respect, affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be, my dearest Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

R. ALLEN.

The best wishes of this family always attend Lady Chatham.

MR. PITT TO RALPH ALLEN, ESQ.

Hayes, June 5, 1763.

MY DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry that my letter of the 2nd instant should give you uneasiness, and occasion you the trouble of sending a messenger to Hayes. I desire you to be assured, that few things can give me more real concern than to find that my notions of the public good differ so widely from those of

the man, whose goodness of heart and private virtues I shall ever respect and love.

I am not insensible to your kind motives for wishing to interpose time for second thoughts ; but, knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I trust that you will see the unfitness of my concealing from my constituents the insurmountable reasons which prevented my obeying their commands, in presenting an address containing a disavowal of my opinion delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their servant, I owe to these gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occasion ; and, as a man not forgetful of the distinguished honour of having been invited to represent them, I owe it in gratitude to them not to think of embarrassing and encumbering for the future, friends to whom I have such obligations, and who now view with approbation measures of an administration, founded on the subversion of that system which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On these plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable, good friend, will be so good as to convey to Mr. Mayor and the gentlemen of the corporation my sentiments, as contained in my letter of the 2nd instant.

I am ever, with unchanging sentiments of respect and affection, my dear Sir,

Most faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

RALPH ALLEN, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

MY DEAREST SIR,

WITH the greatest anxiety and concern I have, in obedience to your positive and repeated commands, executed the most painful commission that I ever received.

Upon this disagreeable occasion give me leave just to say, that however different our abilities may be, it is the duty of every honest man, after he has made the strictest inquiry, to act pursuant to the light which the Supreme Being has been pleased to dispense to him; and this being the rule that I am persuaded we both govern ourselves by, I shall take the liberty now only to add, that it is impossible for any person to retain higher sentiments of your late glorious administration than I do, nor can be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection, and respect than I have been, still am, and always shall be, my dearest Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

R. ALLEN. (1)

The best wishes of the family wait on Lady Chatham.

(1) Lord Chief Justice Pratt, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, dated Bath, Nov. 1., says: — “ I have delivered your compliments to Mr. Allen, who desires I would return for him the warmest expressions of friendship, respect, and honour for you: he has resigned his office of alderman in the corporation, and means no more to concern himself in any public affairs; so that the Bath address will be his last.”

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO MR. PITT.

St. James's Square, June 9, 1763.

SIR,

I DESIRED Lord Temple would communicate to you some few anecdotes, which I informed him might be depended upon, as the channel through which I received my intelligence was authentic.

The Duke of Bedford is waited for with impatience; as all eyes are turned towards him. His friends declare he means to have no employment; but they insinuate that his grace is the only proper person to be at the head of the Treasury. This language is not difficult to be understood. The present administration is bent on resisting whoever would attempt to overturn them, and will oppose the Duke of Bedford's schemes, as strenuously as they would withstand the efforts of those we call our friends to remove them from power. Lord Shelburne is possessed of the partiality of the closet; yet Lord Halifax is gaining ground in the opinion of it. This occasions great jealousy between these two peers; and I hear that the *principal* has discovered, that government can go on, although the Earl of Bute does not preside at the helm of it. Lord Rochford at last kissed hands yesterday for the embassy to Spain.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant, &c.

BRISTOL.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT. (1)

Crosby Square, July 7, 1763.

SIR,

THE first of fourteen trials, in actions brought by the journeymen and people employed by one Leach, a printer, who were taken up by the secretary of state's warrant, and in custody of the messengers some hours, as the printers of the North Briton, No. 45., when in fact they were in nowise concerned in it, came on to be tried before Lord Chief Justice

(1) This letter contains a spirited report of the proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas, on the trial of the messengers, for taking certain journeymen printers into custody on account of the "North Briton." In consequence of strictures on the King's speech at the prorogation, which appeared in the 45th number of that publication, it was deemed expedient to issue a warrant from the Secretary of State's office, requiring four messengers in ordinary to make strict search for the authors, printers, and publishers of the above seditious and treasonable production, to apprehend and seize them, together with their papers, and bring them before the secretary of state. Under this authority, one Leach, a journeyman printer, to whom the messengers had been erroneously directed, was apprehended, but discharged. Kearsley, the avowed publisher, was next day taken into custody, and voluntarily acknowledged before Lord Halifax, that one Balse was the printer, and Wilkes the author of the paper. The crown-lawyers being of opinion, that the publication of a libel was a breach of the peace, and therefore not a case of privilege, the messengers were directed, by virtue of the same warrant, to bring Wilkes before the Secretary of State. He applied to the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of Habeas Corpus. The motion was granted; but, before the writ could be prepared, Wilkes was committed to the Tower. These were the circumstances which brought under public discussion the important question of the legality of general warrants.

Pratt, at nine yesterday morning, and lasted till eight at night ; when the jury found a verdict for three hundred pounds damages against the messengers generally, and refused to find a special verdict ; which was much pressed by the counsel for the defendants, namely, the attorney and solicitor general, and the four King's serjeants.

The plaintiffs' circumstances certainly were not taken into consideration by the jury, for much less had been sufficient in that view only ; but they probably considered the danger of the precedent, and saw pretty plainly, by the manner in which the defence was conducted, that the messengers were well and sufficiently indemnified. Besides this, the defendant's counsel delivered in a bill of exceptions (a very unusual proceeding) to the chief justice's opinion on the questions of law, which much incensed the jury, and did not a little contribute to enhance the damages ; for these exceptions must be argued before all the judges of the court of common pleas, and may afterwards be carried to the King's bench, exchequer chamber, and ultimately to the house of lords, which would be attended with great expence as well as delay to the plaintiff.

The two questions on which the bill of exceptions was founded were these : first, that by a late act of parliament constables must be sued with the justices of the peace, and not separately ; and the justices must have a month's notice before action brought, in order that they may have an

opportunity of tendering amends or satisfaction to the party, and it was argued, that secretaries of state must be considered as justices of the peace, and messengers as constables; and therefore no notice having been given in the present case, nor any action brought against the secretary of state, this action could not be supported.

But this objection was overruled, for two reasons, by the chief justice; first, because the statute nowhere mentions secretaries of state, or messengers, nor are they within the purview or intent, more than within the letter of the act; and it is perhaps but a fiction in law to consider them as justices of the peace: secondly, supposing them to be justices of the peace, and the messengers to be constables, yet the latter could not be brought within this act, because they had no warrant for doing what they did; for the warrant was to apprehend the printers and publishers of the North Briton, No. 45, whereas they did not take up those people, but innocent men, who had never any concern with that paper, and therefore they were not entitled to the protection or sanction of the warrant, which expressly directed them to do what they did not.

The second point laboured by the attorney and solicitor-general was, that there was a *probable cause* for apprehending these people, which was sufficient to justify the messengers, if considered as constables. The first answer to this is, that in actions of false imprisonment, *probable cause* is no

justification : it is so in seizures of run goods, to prevent officers of the revenue from being liable to costs ; but this is by particular and express act of parliament, which can be extended only to the cases mentioned in that act. But how did the probable cause come out upon evidence ? Thus,—Mr. Carrington, the messenger, told three other messengers, who executed the warrant, that he *had been told* by a gentleman, who *had been told* by another gentleman, that Leach's people printed the paper in question. This was all the probable cause they could show ; which had not the least shadow of probability in it.

Mr. Attorney-General opened the defence, with a long panegyric on the King's personal virtues ; his love of liberty ; the dreadful tendency of all the papers called North Britons ; the good and great effects of the union ; the personal bravery and qualities of the Scots in general, and the terrible consequences of reviving national prejudices and distinctions, &c. &c. &c. A very good speech upon the whole, if addressed to the King himself, but a very injudicious one to a jury of citizens of London.

Mr. Wilkes was present, and after the trial was followed out of Guildhall with loud acclamations ; and, on the other hand, Mr. Solicitor-General had one continued hiss from the court into his chariot. The chief justice had warm work of it, yet he must sit till all the fourteen causes are tried. Had the verdict been for small damages,

probably the rest of the actions had been soon determined ; but for fear of the like damages, by other juries, the counsel for the crown must now fight every cause through, or it may happen that all the secret service money left may not be sufficient to pay the damages found in all the causes.

The bill of exceptions filled two large skins of parchment, and had been settled before the trial began ; so they could not trust the chief justice, it was very plain, and guessed at what his opinion would be.

It is a method of practice allowed in the law, but I never recollect its being once done since I was in business. It is arraigning the judgment of the judge, and a very ill compliment to him ; and in these cases now depending I am persuaded will do their cause no good with the juries who are to try them, or with the public.

You will be pleased to observe, that the exceptions taken to the chief justice's determination on the questions of law are the more provoking and ungracious, as the objections made by the King's counsel did not at all affect or go to the merits, and tended only to nonsuit the plaintiff, for want of conformity to the mode prescribed by the act of parliament for bringing his action ; so that all that was intended was to put off the trial and weary the plaintiff out by expense and delay. As these plaintiffs were not the printers of No. 45, North Briton, if the warrant they were imprisoned by was ever so legal, still it would be false im-

prisonment, and therefore yesterday little was said touching the validity or legality of the secretary of state's warrants; but it is universally adjudged to be bad, and not to be supported. I am, Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.⁽¹⁾

Soho Square, four of the clock.

[August 25, 1763.]

THE Lord Mayor presents his best respects to Mr. Pitt; begs leave to send him the enclosed note;

(¹) The ministry, which had always been considered extremely weak, was, on the 20th of August, rendered still more so by the sudden death of the Earl of Egremont, secretary of state for the southern department. Upon which event, Lord Bute, being convinced that the cabinet could not hold together, became anxious to form an administration, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt; and, for this purpose, commissioned Sir Harry Erskine to obtain for him an interview with him, through the medium of Mr. Beckford, then Lord Mayor of London. The particular incidents which led to this extraordinary negotiation, are thus detailed in a letter from a Mr. Erskine to Mr. Mitchell: — “The convention between Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt was long carrying on with the utmost secrecy, under the mediation of Lord Shelburne, a young nobleman who is said to be possessed of great abilities, and to have studied the system of ministerial craft with great assiduity, under that able master Mr. Fox. The ministry, suspicious of some such transaction; jealous of the influence Lord Bute still retained over the King; and alarmed at the spirit of discontent which the opposition had spread through

and will wait on him, at seven of the clock precisely, and make a report of a late conversation.

[Enclosure.]

THE EARL OF BUTE TO WILLIAM BECKFORD, ESQ.

Thursday morning [August 25, 1763].

LORD BUTE presents his compliments to my Lord Mayor, and, on reconsideration, thinks that it will be more convenient for all parties to call on Mr. Pitt at his own house ; and as he shall attend him in his frock, equally private, he therefore proposes to be at Mr. Pitt's door this evening, about eight, if he hears nothing to the contrary.⁽¹⁾

the nation, were in the mean time busily employed in forming a private plan for their own support, by which they hoped to regain the confidence of the people, and give weight and consistency to their administration. Threats of a general resignation were the means to be employed for carrying their plan into execution : but Lord Egremont's death disconcerted all their measures, and hastened the conclusion of the treaty between Lord Bute and Mr. Pitt." — *Mitchell MSS.*

⁽¹⁾ The Earl of Hardwicke, in a letter to his son, Lord Royston, written on Sunday the 4th of September, gives the following authentic and interesting account of this interview : — "I have heard the whole from the Duke of Newcastle, and on Friday morning *de source* from Mr. Pitt. It is as strange as it is long ; for I believe it is the most extraordinary transaction that ever happened in any court in Europe, even in times as extraordinary as the present. It began, as to the substance, by a message from my Lord Bute to Mr. Pitt at Hayes, through my Lord Mayor, to give him the meeting privately at some third place. This his lordship (Lord Bute) afterwards altered by a note from himself, saying, that as he loved to do things openly,

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, Sunday, Aug. 28, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH tells me that the Duke of Cumberland will not be at home to-morrow,

he would come to Mr. Pitt's house in Jermyn Street in broad daylight. They met accordingly, and Lord Bute, after the first compliments, frankly acknowledged that his ministry could not go on, and that the King was convinced of it, and therefore he (Lord B.) desired that Mr. Pitt would open himself frankly and at large, and tell him his ideas of things and persons with the utmost freedom. After much excuse and hanging back, Mr. Pitt did so with the utmost freedom indeed, though with civility. Lord Bute heard with great attention and patience; entered into no defence; but at last said, 'If these are your opinions, why should you not tell them to the King himself, who will not be unwilling to hear you?'—'How can I, my Lord, *presume to go to the King, who am not of his council, nor in his service, and have no pretence to ask an audience?* The presumption would be too great!' 'But, suppose his Majesty should order you to attend him, I presume, Sir, you would not refuse it.' '*The King's command would make it my duty, and I should certainly obey it.*'

"This was on last Thursday se'nnight. On the next day (Friday) Mr. Pitt received from the King *an open note unsealed*, requiring him to attend his Majesty on Saturday noon, at the Queen's palace in the Park. In obedience thereto, Mr. Pitt went on Saturday at noon-day through the Mall in his gouty chair, the boot of which (as he said himself) makes it as much known as if his name was writ upon it, to the Queen's palace. He was immediately carried into the closet; received very graciously; and his Majesty began in like manner as his *quondam* favourite had done, by ordering him to tell him his opinion of things and persons at large, and with the utmost freedom; and I think did in substance make the like confession, that he thought his present ministers could not go on. The audience lasted three hours, and Mr. Pitt went through the whole, upon

but is gone to Woburn for two or three days, and returns on Wednesday, so I shall not have an opportunity of seeing his Royal Highness till towards the end of the week. I hope to hear from you when you have any commands for me. Colonel Fitzroy is come in since you went from hence.⁽¹⁾ The Duke of Grafton is now in town, and does not

both heads, more fully than he had done to Lord Bute, but with great complaisance and *douceur* to the King; and his Majesty gave him a very gracious *aecueil*, and heard him with great patience and attention. And Mr. Pitt affirms that, in general, and upon the most material points, he appeared by his manner, and many of his expressions, to be convinced. Mr. Pitt went through the infirmities of the peace; the things necessary, and hitherto neglected, to improve and preserve it; the present state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; the great Whig families and persons who had been driven from his Majesty's council and service, which it would be for his interest to restore. In doing this, he repeated many names; upon which his Majesty told him there was pen, ink, and paper, and he wished he would write them down. Mr. Pitt humbly excused himself, saying *that* would be too much for him to take upon him, and he might, upon his memory, omit some material persons; which might be subject to imputation. The King still said he liked to hear him, and bid him go on; but said, now and then, that his honour must be consulted; to which Mr. Pitt answered in a very courtly manner. His Majesty ordered him to come again on Monday; which he did, to the same place, and in the same public manner."

(1) "Here," says the Earl of Hardwicke, "comes in a parenthesis, that on Sunday Mr. Pitt went to Claremont, and acquainted the Duke of Newcastle with the whole; fully persuaded, from the King's manner and behaviour, that the thing would do; and that on Monday the outlines of the new arrangement would be settled. This produced the messages to those lords who were sent for. Mr. Pitt undertook to write to the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquis of Rockingham, and the Duke of Newcastle to myself."

go out of town till to-morrow at eight o'clock in the morning. Give me leave to repeat again my thanks for your great confidence in, and goodness to me, this morning. I am, with the greatest respect,
Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and
most obedient humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, Tuesday, August 30, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

LATE last night I received an answer from my Lord Hardwicke, that his lordship would be in Grosvenor Square to-morrow in the evening. I propose to be in town early on Thursday morning, to receive your commands, if you have any for me. I could wish that you could contrive to see my Lord Hardwicke yourself alone, before either I or any of us see him. I know it would have a good effect.

My nephew Onslow came hither last night, who had seen the Duke of Grafton yesterday. His Grace is in high spirits upon the present appearances, and talks, and will act, just as we could wish him.

I hope every thing passed to your satisfaction in your visit yesterday.⁽¹⁾ Lord Lincoln went to

(1) "But behold," continues Lord Hardwicke, "the catastrophe of Monday. The King received Mr. Pitt equally gra-

Stowe yesterday morning. I hope he will bring his friend to town with him. Indeed, that is absolutely necessary. I am, with the greatest truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

P.S. I this moment hear, that the Duke of Cumberland will be in London this night or tomorrow.

ciously ; and that audience lasted near two hours. The King began, that he had considered of what had been said, and talked still more strongly of his honour. His Majesty then mentioned Lord Northumberland for the treasury, still proceeding upon the supposition of a change. To this Mr. Pitt hesitated an objection, that certainly Lord Northumberland might be considered, but that he should not have thought of him for the treasury. His Majesty then mentioned Lord Halifax for the treasury. Mr. Pitt said, 'Suppose your Majesty should think fit to give his lordship the paymaster's place?' The King replied, 'But, Mr. Pitt, I had designed that for poor George Grenville ; he is your near relation, and you once loved him.' To this the only answer made was a low bow. And now here comes the bait. 'Why,' says his Majesty, 'should not Lord Temple have the treasury? You could go on then very well!'—'Sir, the person whom you shall think fit to favour with the chief conduct of your affairs cannot possibly go on without a treasury connected with him ; but that alone will do nothing. It cannot be carried on without the great families who have supported the Revolution government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation. I should only deceive your Majesty, if I should leave you in an opinion that I could go on, and your Majesty make a solid administration, on any other foot!'—'Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) this won't do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it! *Et sic finis est fabula. Vos valet ;* but I cannot, with a safe conscience, add *et plaudite.*'"

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE TO MR. PITT.

Chatsworth, August 30, 1763.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter late last night ; which gave me great pleasure. I think myself much obliged to you for the kind manner in which you have communicated to me an event, that I must look upon as a most fortunate one for the King and the country.

Give me leave to assure you, that the step his Majesty has taken, and the mode he has chosen to do it in, are most satisfactory to me ; and I flatter myself will be most beneficial to this country. I am just setting out for Derby, and propose being in town to-morrow evening.

I am, with very great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

DEVONSHIRE.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE (1) TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday, August 30, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

THOUGH I am at dinner, I cannot help troubling Mr. Pitt with a great many thanks for the honour

(1) William Petty, second earl of Shelburne, and first marquis of Lansdowne. He was born in 1737, and, entering young into the army, distinguished himself at the battles of Camper-

of his obliging communication, and felicitating him personally—which I can do very sincerely—on a negotiation being at an end, which carried through the whole of it such shocking marks of insincerity (¹), and, if it had taken another turn, must have laid a weight on his shoulders of a most irksome nature, on account of the peculiar circumstances attending it.

I propose myself the honour and pleasure of waiting on you at Hayes, about Saturday morning, to thank you for all your goodness to me, on this

and Minden. In 1760, he was appointed aide-de-camp to George the Third, with the rank of colonel; in 1761, he went into parliament as member for Chipping Wycombe, and, in the same year, took his seat in the house of peers, on succeeding to the title of earl of Shelburne. He supported the peace of 1762; and, in April 1763, was admitted to the privy council, and placed at the head of the board of trade; which situation he resigned, three days after the date of this letter.

(¹) "Mr. Pitt," continues Lord Hardwicke, "professes himself firmly persuaded, that my Lord Bute was sincere at first, and that the King was in earnest the first day; but that on the intermediate day, Sunday, some strong effort was made, which produced the alteration. He likewise affirms, that if he was examined upon oath, he could not tell upon what this negotiation broke off; whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole. It will certainly be given out, that the reason was the unreasonable extent of Mr. Pitt's plan—a general rout; and that the minority, after having complained so much of proscription, have endeavoured to proscribe the majority. I asked Mr. Pitt the direct question; and he assured me, that although he thought himself obliged to name a great many persons for his own exculpation, yet he did not name above five or six for particular places. I must tell you, that one of these was your humble servant, for the president's place."

as well as other occasions. If you have any commands for me before that, I hope you will be kind enough to let me receive them with as little ceremony as possible. In the mean time, may I add my congratulations on your health not being worse for your last journey?

I am, with the highest consideration and esteem,
dear Sir,

Your most faithful and
obliged humble servant,
SHELBURNE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, Wednesday morning,
past 9 o'clock, [August 31, 1763.]

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED, with the greatest surprise and concern, the honour of your kind letter last night; whereby I found, that the pleasing hopes, which I had flattered myself with, that his Majesty had at last seen the unhappy situation of his affairs, and had determined to put the conduct of them into the hands of those who would serve him and the nation with credit, ability, reputation, and success, and to the satisfaction of this country, and indeed of all the powers of Europe, who are, or ought to be, our best friends and allies, were at once disappointed. In this terrible situation, God knows what will become of this poor country.

This morning early I received the enclosed letter from my Lord Albemarle ; by which I find, that the Duke of Cumberland concluded that all was over to our satisfaction. I don't know what account his Royal Highness has received of any thing that had passed ; I am sure none from me, or from any person of any kind from me. I must beg, if possible, to see you for one moment, as I go to the Duke's, that I may agree with you what I shall say. I am, dear Sir, with the greatest respect and affection,

Your most obedient and

faithful humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

[Enclosure.]

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE ⁽¹⁾ TO THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Woburn Abbey, Tuesday, [August 30, 1763.]

MY LORD,

I AM to inform your Grace, that the Duke will be in town to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, and desires to see you at Cumberland House. The

(1) George Keppel, third earl of Albemarle. He was born in 1724; entered the army young, and served at Fontenoy and Culloden, under the Duke of Cumberland. In 1754, he succeeded to his father's title and estate; in 1761, was appointed governor of Jersey; and, in 1762, commander-in-chief of the land forces destined for the reduction of the Havannah; where he acquired great renown, and increase of fortune. He died in 1772, at the age of forty-eight.

steadiness and unanimity that we have shown has brought every thing about—I most sincerely hope to your Grace's satisfaction; and hope that no divisions among ourselves may diminish our strength at court, and credit in the world. I am, my Lord,

Your Grace's most faithful
humble servant,
ALBEMARLE.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

September 2, 1763.

SIR,

LORD SHELBURNE having resigned his situation at the board of trade, I think it right to inform you thereof without delay. He quitted the Royal closet with such marks of goodness and favour as he must ever remember; but he thought himself obliged to take this step.

Believe me, Sir, I never can forget the confidence you have placed in me, or be insensible to your approbation of my conduct⁽²⁾; and it is

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Calcraft was at this time deputy commissary-general of musters; from which situation he was removed in the following December.

⁽²⁾ A paragraph appeared in the public journals of the 1st of September, stating, that "Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had, on the preceding day, paid a visit to Mr. Calcraft, which lasted two hours." It will be seen, that the "confidence" spoken of in this letter continued unabated to the period of Mr. Calcraft's death, in 1773.

with the utmost satisfaction I can add, Lord Shelburne feels with very great concern what happened to you in the end of the late transaction.

I am, with the utmost respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and

faithful humble servant,

J. CALCRAFT.

ROBERT WOOD, ESQ. (1) TO MR. PITT.

Stanhope-street, September 3, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

FINDING myself disappointed in my scheme of waiting upon you this morning, by my leg not being as well as I expected, I cannot help acquainting you with the principal object of my intended visit.

(1) See vol. I. p. 432. A few days after this letter was written, Mr. Wood resigned the situation of under secretary of state; which he had filled for several years. In the preface to his "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer," he relates the following interesting anecdote of the earl of Granville:—"In the course of that active period, the duties of my situation engaged me in an occasional attendance upon a nobleman, who, though he presided at his majesty's councils, reserved some moments for literary amusement. His lordship was so partial to this subject, that I seldom had the honour of receiving his commands on business, that he did not lead the conversation to Greece and Homer. Being directed to wait upon his lordship a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the treaty of peace, I found him so languid, that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, saying, 'it could not prolong his life to neglect his duty,' and, repeating a passage out of Sarpedon's speech, dwelt with particular emphasis on a line which recalled to

The arrangement which you are supposed to have proposed to the King, as necessary to your entering into his Majesty's service, is industriously spread about ; and the very extensive and almost universal proscription of those who are at present in employment is propagated, with some animadversions of yours upon characters, the asperity of which is set forth in strong colouring.

All this is too vague and general to trouble you with ; but the particular assertion which I wished to have communicated to you in person is, that you proscribe the Duke of Bedford, and all his close friends and connections, without any further thoughts of Lord Gower or Rigby, who were to be excluded, not let down ; and that his Grace might some time hence, but not at present, have a place, though not of business. Lord Sandwich

his mind the distinguished part he had taken in public affairs.* His lordship then repeated the last word several times, with a calm and determined resignation, and, after a serious pause of some minutes, he desired to hear the treaty read ; to which he listened with great attention, and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious war, and most honourable peace, this country ever saw." Mr. Wood died in September 1771, in his fifty-fifth year.

* Iliad, l. xii. 322., thus translated by Pope : —

" Could all our care elude the gloomy grave,
Which claims no less the fearful than the brave,
For lust of fame, I should not vainly dare
In fighting fields, nor urge thy soul to war.
But since, alas ! ignoble age must come,
Disease, and death's inexorable doom ;
The life which others pay let us bestow,
And give to fame what we to nature owe."

is gone, yesterday, to Woburn, with this account ; having been first referred, for the truth of it, to *the great person* to whom you explained yourself. Rigby, who told me this, added, that it was not like you.

If this communication be either useless or improper, there is already too much of it. You will excuse it for the uprightness of my meaning ; who most heartily wish to see an end of all temporary, contemptible expedients, to retard a rational plan for restoring that dignity and confidence to administration which is lost ; — a very difficult task, which becomes more so by weak procrastination, and must, sooner or later, fall to your share.

I am told that on Tuesday there will be a secretary of state, to whom I may give up the papers. My most respectful compliments to Lady Chatham, and all your family. I am, with perfect truth and respect, dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,

R. Wood.

P. S. Lord Bute's having taken leave of the King for a year ⁽¹⁾, and Lord Shelburne's resignation,

⁽¹⁾ The Earl of Hardwicke thus concludes his interesting narrative : — " I shall now make you laugh, though some parts of what goes before make me melancholy, to see the King so committed, and his Majesty submitting to it, &c. But what I mean will make you laugh is, that the ministers are so stung with this admission that they cannot go on (and what has passed on this occasion will certainly make them less able to go on), and with my Lord Bute's having thus carried them to market in his pocket, that they say Lord Bute has attempted to sacrifice them to his own fears and timidity ; that they do not depend upon him, and will have nothing more to do with him :

if true, cannot be new to you. I am very sensible of the awkward (and in the light I see it, distressing to you) circumstance of Lord Sandwich being referred by the secretary of state to *the great person*. Though the contents of this letter are unknown to any body, and merely suggested by what I feel to be right for any use you please, yet duty and respect make it unbecoming in me wantonly to use that name. I wish the same respect may have been observed by my superiors.

ROBERT WOOD, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Brompton, September 6, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

THE letter which you did me the honour of writing on the third, entirely justifies the opinion I had of that matter. I hope the cautious use I have made of what you say, in a letter to Rigby, will not be disapproved by you, as I did not venture to quote you. The whole expectations of the present half-formed administration are from the effect which their misrepresentations will have upon the minds of people.⁽¹⁾ The Duke of Bedford

and I have been very credibly informed, that both Lord Halifax and George Grenville have declared, that he is to go beyond the sea, and reside for a twelvemonth or more. You know a certain cardinal was twice exiled out of France, and governed France as absolutely whilst he was absent, as when he was present."

⁽¹⁾ A comparison of Lord Hardwicke's narrative, *de source*, with the following particulars, "picked up" by Mr. Erskine,

is to be in town this night to have the story, which was carried to Woburn, from its source, which is

and transmitted to Mr. Mitchell at Berlin, will show the extravagant lengths to which the misstatements here spoken of were carried upon this occasion:—"You will probably," he says, "not be displeased with comparing such particulars as I have been able to pick up, with the more authentic accounts you have received from others. At Mr. Pitt's first interview with the King, he behaved with great modesty and decorum; but when he insinuated that his Majesty would doubtless be pleased, that Lord Bute and he should unite their counsels for the service, the King stopped him short, 'How! Mr. Pitt, do you mean to laugh at me? You must know, as well as me, that that nobleman is determined never more to take any share in the administration.' Mr. Pitt was, however, so moderate in his demands, and the King so condescending, that there seemed little reason to doubt of a happy issue to the conference. The next day Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple were at court; they bowed very low; the King spoke to them without constraint, but, as I thought, with apparent coolness. They, however, thought themselves so sure of success, that they summoned their friends to town. But, at the next conference (from what motive, I have not been able to learn), the scene was entirely changed; the style of a dictator was assumed; terms were no longer proposed but prescribed, and conditions exacted, that nothing but the most abject meanness or most absolute despondency could assent to; a total *bouleversement* of the government was demanded; an universal proscription of all who had served it boldly threatened, with some few invidious exceptions; and *sic rolo sic jubeo* denounced a total annihilation of Royal authority. 'The whole frame of your government is disordered, and will require seven years at least to restore it to the state it was in eighteen months ago: your army is in the utmost confusion, and must no longer be governed by a secretary at war, totally ignorant of all military affairs; there must be a man of experience put at the head of it, a man of character, rank, and dignity, to give weight to his command.'—"I agree with you, Mr. Pitt," replied the King, 'and by the picture you have drawn, you doubtless mean Lord Granby,' (this disconcerted him a little, and he replied) 'Or—or—or Lord Albemarle. All

most indecently made responsible for exaggeration, indeed for contradiction.

those who voted for the peace must be turned out, and all the Tories to a man !' — 'Tories, Mr. Pitt? I protest I do not understand you ; if you mean by Tories such, and such, and such, you will please to recollect you brought every one of them in yourself.'—Thus, unassisted, did the King debate the important point of his own sovereignty, with that able and (unfortunately) violent negotiator ; and having, during the whole conference, preserved the utmost command of his temper, concluded it with these remarkable words ;— 'Should I consent to these demands of yours, Mr. Pitt, there would be nothing more left for me to do, but to take the crown from my own head, and place it upon yours, and then patiently submit my neck to the block !' "

The following is an extract of a letter written, in cipher, by Sir Joseph Yorke to Mr. Mitchell, on the 27th of September :— "The negotiation with Mr. Pitt did not succeed ; and was, I am told, too confined for him to come into. Since that, the vacant employments have been filled up—and the fashion is to say, the administration will hold. If they can do the King's business, and the nation's business, I shall be glad of it — for my only partiality is for those ; but, if they cannot, I shall be sorry to see they have embarked without widening the bottom. The only public event of consequence is the change of ministry in Spain. The retreat of Wall and the promotion of Grimaldi, with the nomination of Count Fuentes to succeed him at Paris, have roused the attention of all Europe ; and proves that the old leaven still resides with those to whom we have just granted safe and honourable terms of peace. For my part, I had rather they should show themselves thus early, than that they should have waited a year longer ; for our old impressions are not enough worn out as yet, to make us quite indifferent to the conduct of that haughty and restless neighbour." — *Mitchell MSS.*

On the 9th of September, the Duke of Bedford was appointed president of the council, and Lord Sandwich secretary of state ; Lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty, and Mr. George Grenville retained his situation of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Chesterfield, in reference to this negotiation, says, in a letter to Mr. Stanhope,

I hear that, if his Grace is not prevailed upon to accept the place of president of the council, the Duke of Leeds is intended for that employment, and that Lord Hillsborough is to go to the board of trade. Rivers, from whom I have this news, tells me that Lord Halifax has made his arrangement for the southern department, and that Lord Sandwich succeeds him in the northern. I suppose this will be known to-morrow at the levee, where I intend to go if my leg will allow me. I shall certainly pay my respects to you at Hayes, some morning before I leave town. Mrs. Wood joins in respects to Lady Chatham. I am, with perfect truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

ROBERT WOOD.

"Would you know what it broke off upon, you must ask the newsmongers, and the coffee-houses; who, I dare say, know it all very minutely; but I, who am not apt to know any thing that I do not know, honestly and humbly confess, that I cannot tell you: probably, one party asked too much, and the other would grant too little. However, the King's dignity was not, in my mind, much consulted, by their making him sole plenipotentiary of a treaty, which they were not, in all events, determined to conclude. It ought surely to have been begun by some inferior agent, and his Majesty should only have appeared in rejecting or ratifying it. Louis XIV. never sate down before a town in person that was not sure to be taken. However 'ce qui est différé n'est pas perdu;' for this matter must be taken up again, and probably upon more disadvantageous terms to the present ministers, who have tacitly admitted, by this negotiation, that they are not able to carry on affairs."

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, September 4, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

THE duty I owe myself, as well as the very great obligations I owe to you, make me presume on the liberty of giving you this trouble; for I cannot but think myself involved in the displeasure which the Bath address has occasioned. Not on account of that address, because I am sure you take Mr. Allen's word, that no one had a hand in drawing it up, or dictating the sentiments, but himself; yet, on account of the address from the clergy of Gloucester, which, I confess, I drew up, promoted, and advised.

As you, Sir, have the best right in the world to demand my motives for any of my public actions, though your politeness, and perhaps tenderness for me, keep you from asking, it is but a small part of the duty and honour I have for you, to acquaint you with them unasked.

I saw with indignation the King personally insulted, in the most audacious manner, in a paper called the North Briton. I saw, with great concern, the common people of Gloucestershire inflamed, by an equitable tax ⁽¹⁾ (though ill-contrived and worse

(1) The additional tax on cider, which had been passed in April, created such dissatisfaction, that many of the apple-growers threatened to demolish their orchards. "There has been tough doings in parliament," writes Walpole, on the 6th of April, "about the tax on cider; and in the western counties the discontent is so great, that if Mr. Wilkes will turn patriot-hero, or patriot-incendiary, and put himself at their head, he may obtain a rope of martyrdom before the summer is over."

digested), into tumults and riots. In this state of things, I held it to be my first duty, to show some regard to my royal master. For, when I mentioned him as such, in that just character, which I did myself the honour to draw of you, Sir, as the deliverer of your country, they no more were words of course, than when I presumed to speak of you, as of my patron and my friend. These were my motives for addressing; and the terms in which the address was conceived will, I am sure, need no apology to you. We did not venture, as it was a matter foreign to our profession, even to hint our sentiments on the political question of an *adequate* or *inadequate* peace. We confined our thanks to his Majesty for procuring us peace, as the greatest blessing, in the estimation of ministers of the Gospel; war and bloodshed being the opprobrium of Christianity. In all this, Mr. Allen had as little to do, as I had with his affairs at Bath. But this, Sir, you will do us the justice to believe, that your interest was never forgotten by either of us; and in the conduct of this matter, we thought we were rendering you as acceptable service, as when we seconded your moderation, in softening the address of the corporation to your self, on your retiring from public business. And we were the more persuaded of this, from what we had heard of the same temper in your sentiments, delivered in parliament, on the preliminaries. Further than this, we had no way of judging; for we had not the honour to know more of your sentiments than the rest of the world besides.

In what followed, I dare say the concern and indignation were reciprocally equal. I mean, for the abuses thrown out against us all, by the miserable scribblers on both sides. They would not take Mr. Allen's word, but reviled me in the foulest language, as instigating Mr. Allen to this offensive measure. Nay, in picture likewise (in the contrivance of which, one Collibee, a member of the corporation, a Jacobite, and, on that account, an old inveterate, and declared enemy of Mr. Allen, is supposed to have a hand), where the addressers of Bath are libelled in the vilest manner, your humble servant is brought in, in his episcopal habit, prompted by the Devil, to whisper in Mr. Allen's ear the word *adequate*. Murderers and traitors, by the forms of our law, are said to be instigated by the Devil; but this seems to be the first time that an address of loyalty to the throne was ever charged with that instigation.

I, for my part, am callous to these things; and amidst a long course of infinite abuse, for well-intended services in my profession, (in which not one injurious fact ever laid to my charge was *true*, nor one bad argument ever imputed to me was proved,) I thank God and my innocence, I never once lost a night's rest. But I suspect it is not altogether so well with good Mr. Allen; and in this thing only I am his superior. Yet, I believe, that which most concerned him was his ignorance, when he used the word *adequate*, that you, Sir, in a public assembly,

had employed the word *inadequate*, to characterise the peace. You will, Sir, with your usual goodness, pardon the length of this letter; and with your usual justice, allow me the honour to subscribe myself, honoured Sir,

Your most obliged
and ever faithful servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

MR. PITT TO THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

[From an imperfect draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

September 10, 1763.

MY LORD,

IN addition to many former marks of your Lordship's goodness to me, I am honoured with a fresh and very unmerited instance of your regard, in the favour of a letter of the 4th, from Prior Park. Your Lordship's condescension on so delicate a subject is indeed much too great, in taking the trouble to mention to me the motives which determined you to advise and draw up the address from the cathedral of Gloucester.

The high station, and still higher consideration, which your Lordship so deservedly holds in the world, together with the peculiar delicacy of the subject, must draw on me the charge of temerity, if I presumed to exercise my own judgment on the propriety of this step. I will only venture to

observe, my Lord, that it is singular, insomuch, that the cathedral of Gloucester, which certainly does not stand alone in true duty and wise zeal towards his Majesty, has however the fate not to be imitated by any other episcopal see in the kingdom, in this unaccustomed effusion of fervent gratulations on the peace.

Your Lordship will please to observe, that the doubt I venture to suggest, in point of propriety, turns, not on the merits of the peace, concerning which no one is more able than your Lordship to judge, but rests singly on a general notion, which I imbibed early, and which reflection and experience have strengthened into a fixed opinion in my mind ; and it is this, my Lord, that the purposes of the state will be as well served, and that Christianity, of which your Lordship justly observes war to be the opprobrium, will surely be served much better, when the clergy do not — (1)

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER TO MR. PITT.

Prior Park, September 14, 1763.

HONOURED SIR,

IF the best thanks were equal in value to the best services, they would not be a sufficient return for the condescending marks of your goodness and regard for me, in your kind favour of the 10th.

(1) The remainder of this letter has, unfortunately, not been preserved.

You, Sir, who never miss the fort or the foible of every circumstance in human affairs, have rightly and pleasantly put your finger on the weak one, in that impertinent address ; that is to say, the undesigned singularity of it. This, as you truly observe, was its *fate* : the less indeed to be wondered at, since it has all along been the fate of its author, not his affectation, I will claim credit with you, to believe.

The thing itself is neither good nor bad ; yet, I confess, singularity in civil matters wears a more ambiguous aspect than it does in religious ; because, in the first we should, for peace' sake, generally go with the many ; in the latter, we are obliged, for truth's sake, as generally to go with the few.

What then is to be done, but to mean well ? I am sure, Sir, you expect no more of your friends. The best intentioned man, whether to religion or the state, may sometimes mistake their interests. He who with good intentions best understands them, commits the fewest errors ; and it is for the honour of humanity, that such a man is most disposed to excuse the well meant mistakes of others. Your obliging letter, Sir, is an instance of this ; and as my principal ambition, both as a churchman and of the profession of letters, is to have your approbation, I will not despair (with the constant provision of a good meaning), but that I shall always preserve it.

But I am running from the simple intention of my letter ; which was only to make my best ac-

knowledgments for your condescending favour of the 10th, and to profess how much I am, honoured Sir,

Your obliged and
faithfully devoted servant,
W. GLOUCESTER.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, September 12, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour of your most obliging letter of the 8th, and am extremely sorry that I shall not be able to have the pleasure of waiting upon you at Hayes, in consequence of the Duchess of Newcastle's illness. I am the more concerned at this disappointment, as I had yesterday the honour of an unexpected visit from the Duke of Cumberland; which, indeed, was as much a visit to you as to me, I having told his royal highness, that I intended to go to Hayes some day this week.

His royal highness came purposely to let us know (for he desired particularly that I should communicate them to you) his ideas upon the new administration; which, though one part of it extremely surprised him, after what had passed, he did not think, in any part of it, formidable. His royal highness had not heard one single word from the person with whom he had lately had a great deal of discourse of a very different nature

and tendency. The Duke adheres firm to the persons and principles in which you left him. I must defer the rest till I have the pleasure of seeing you ; which, I hope, will be in a few days. I am, with the sincerest respect and affection, dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

London, October 13, 1763.

MY LORD,

AFTER the long conversation I had the honour to have with your Grace, the day I waited on you at dinner at Claremont, you will easily judge of my disappointment and concern to find that Mr. Attorney-general, far from being open to meet upon one common ground, in maintaining the privilege of parliament, had, from the beginning, given a direct and full opinion against it, in the case now in question.

I have little to say upon this unhappy business, further than that I could wish I had been told the *full state of the thing* sooner, that I might not have proceeded in the vain dream, that some solid union upon Revolution-principles, and an assertion in earnest of the freedom of the constitution, was practicable, under the various biasses, managements, and entanglements, which draw various

ways. This state of discordancy, which now comes out, is indeed not much to be wondered at ; for how could the lingering on in a court-situation, under a rash and odious ministry, be brought to square with the conduct of those, who were openly resisting the dangerous power of it ? ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the 1st of November, Mr. Yorke resigned the situation of attorney-general, and Sir Fletcher Norton was appointed in his stead. The parliament met on the 15th. Upon the return of the Commons to their own House, after hearing the King's speech, Mr. Grenville stated, that his Majesty having received information, that John Wilkes, Esq. was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, published since the last session, had caused him to be apprehended, and detained for trial. He then recapitulated the proceedings in the courts below ; and, having laid on the table the libel, with the examination of the bookseller and printer, moved, that the North Briton, No. 45., was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to excite the people to traitorous insurrections against the government. The debates thereupon have not been preserved ; but Dr. Birch, in a letter to Lord Royston, says, that " Mr. Pitt declared strongly against the paper, but objected to the words, 'tending to traitorous ;' but which, after a long debate, in which he had the most considerable share, and a division of 273 against 111, were carried." When this motion was disposed of, Wilkes, premising that, in his person, the rights of all the commons of England and the privileges of parliament had been violated, stated the circumstances of his arrest and discharge, and the proceedings against him in the court of King's Bench by subpœna. He requested the judgment of the House on his privilege ; declaring, however, that, if they decided in his favour, he would wave the advantage, and put himself on a jury of his country. The question of privilege was adjourned to the following day ; " when, just as the House was going to proceed upon it," writes Lord Barrington to Mr. Mitchell, " news came that Wilkes had been shot through the body in a duel by Sam. Martin, late secretary of the treasury, who had said, in his speech the day before, (after mentioning some virulent abuse thrown on him in the North Briton,) ' that whoever was capable, in a printed

The fatal consequences of this disunion are too obvious to admit of much observation. All I will say is, that my resistance of my Lord Mansfield's influence is not made in animosity to the man, but *in opposition to his principles*. If his ways of thinking are to prevail in Westminster-hall, it is indifferent to me, whether his lordship's name, or any other, is to sound the highest among the long-robe.

I should do Mr. Yorke great injustice, if I did not acknowledge the many obliging expressions which he did me the honour to employ on my personal subject, as well as those with regard to my friend Lord

anonymous paper, to asperse him by name, was a cowardly scoundrel.' Wilkes, the next morning, wrote a letter to Martin, acknowledging himself the author of that paper; and they proceeded to Hyde Park, where the duel was fought. The wound is not thought dangerous; but it occasioned the putting off the consideration of the question of privilege to the 23d, and the House proceeded on the King's speech. Mr. Pitt spoke with great ability, and the utmost degree of temper. He said he had not altered his opinion of the peace, which he still thought inadequate to our situation and successes; but that, being made and approved by parliament, nothing more unfortunate could happen, than that it should be broken; that it was every man's business to contribute all he could to make it lasting, and to improve it; for which purpose he recommended union, and abolition of party distinctions, as absolutely necessary. He spoke civilly, and not unfairly, of the ministers; but of the King, he said every thing which duty and affection could inspire. The effect of this was a vote for an address, *nem. con.* I think, if *fifty thousand pounds* had been given for that speech, it would have been well expended. It secures us a quiet session; and, with the help of a division of 300 to 111, the day before, will give strength and reputation to government, both at home and abroad."—*Mitchell MSS.*

Chief Justice Pratt. I am going to Hayes, and sincerely rejoice to carry with me the satisfaction of knowing, that Lord Rockingham is much better.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's &c.,

W. PITT.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, October 14, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED this morning the honour of your letter ; which has given me a concern, which I am afraid will not soon be removed.

I have had very little discourse of late with Mr. Attorney-general, relating to any incidental questions that might arise in parliament, upon the proceedings in Mr. Wilkes's case. Sometime ago, when the question was fresh, I found Mr. Attorney-general disposed to adhere to what he had done, and the opinion he had been of when he was consulted as attorney-general, and had acted as such ; and then, or soon after, I understood from him, that he had had some discourse with you upon the subject.

I always feared that some difference of opinion might, unfortunately, arise upon these points, if they should come into the House ; but as I did not know the particular question upon which that difference might happen, and as I was not so able, or

so well instructed upon these points, as I should be, I did hope that if some previous things could be settled, an amicable discussion and consideration of such points might reconcile these differences; and in that hope, I chose rather to leave these points of difference to be discussed in that manner, than, by an improper intermeddling on my part, defeat my own wish and view of removing those difficulties, if they should arise.

I say this in justification of myself, for not having brought the question immediately under consideration. I may have erred in judgment, but it arose singly from a good intention. I believe, and indeed know, that others, who have known more of Mr. Attorney-general's opinion upon these points, have reasoned in the same manner, and from the same causes, with myself. I most sincerely lament this unhappy circumstance; and see from it, the fatal consequences of this disunion, if no methods can yet be found to prevent it. I have done, and shall do, every thing in my power to remove all obstacles which might create any coolness or difference amongst those, who alone, in my opinion, can save this country and this government, if not from utter ruin, at least from contempt and insignificance, both at home and abroad, and establish such an administration and such a conduct of affairs as may, in some measure, recover our credit abroad, and make the best provision that the present situation will admit of, for the security of our interests at home, the honour of the King, and the

ease and satisfaction of the nation. I once thought that hour near : I am sorry to say (and particularly from what I have seen this day), that I think it farther off than ever. I will not, however, despair. The prudent interposition of friends may reconcile differences of opinion in points of business, as well as of personal considerations. That interposition, I am sure, will not be wanting.

I shall take the first safe opportunity of writing myself to the Duke of Devonshire upon this subject ; who, I am sure, will agree with me, not only in lamenting the thing, but in endeavouring to remove the cause of it. I have this morning a letter from Mr. Legge, which will be entirely to your satisfaction. I am, with the greatest truth and respect, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE RT. HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, October 31, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I AM much mortified to find I have twice lost an opportunity of seeing you this day, and that, by calling at your door, I was prevented being at home, when you did me the honour of inquiring after me. If your stay in town should be short, and your time should be engaged, I beg the favour of

being permitted to wait upon you at Hayes, that I may have an opportunity of expressing, at least in part, the sincere and grateful sense I bear of your partiality, generosity, and friendship, towards me upon a late occasion. (1) So distinguished a testimony of Mr. Pitt's approbation and regard, given without my knowledge, and in a manner so very delicate towards me, must and ever will, as long as I have any judgment or gratitude, constitute my chief honour and satisfaction in life.

I am, with the truest personal regard, and the most perfect consideration,

Dear Sir, your most obliged and
most obedient humble servant,
C. TOWNSHEND.

VISCOUNT IRWIN (2) TO MR. PITT.

Templenessam, November 5, 1763.

SIR,

As I have not the honour of being personally acquainted with you, I am under a necessity of troubling you with a letter—a liberty which my

(1) Mr. Charles Townshend was one of the five or six persons whom Mr. Pitt, in his recent interview with the King, had named for particular places.

(2) Charles Ingram, Esq., member for Horsham, and one of the grooms of the bed-chamber, had succeeded to the title in May, on the death of his uncle, the right hon. and rev. Dr. George Ingram, Viscount Irwin.

sincere regard for your character and conduct occasions, and which, I hope, you will excuse.

My inheriting a peerage has made a vacancy in parliament for the borough of Horsham; and it is my great ambition, that you will do me the honour to name some friend of yours to supply my place, and believe me to be, with great regard and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

IRWIN.

MR. PITT TO VISCOUNT IRWIN.

November —, 1763.

MY LORD,

WORDS must ill express the warm sense I have of the peculiar honour which your letter has brought me, and how invaluable dear I shall ever hold such a testimony of your Lordship's favourable and friendly opinion. The kind manner in which this essential mark of countenance and support of my public conduct is conveyed to me, adds every flattering circumstance to the most effectual favour.

As I am happy in owing such obligations to Lord Irwin, I embrace, with equal pride and joy, this public mark of his friendship, and venture to offer to his Lordship's consideration and favour a gentleman, whose sound principles, fair character, and promising abilities in Westminster Hall, will,

I am assured, never misbecome his Lordship's protection.

This gentleman is Mr. Robert Pratt, nephew of Lord Chief Justice Pratt. If your Lordship will do me the honour to accept of my recommendation in behalf of this gentleman, to fill the vacancy at Horsham, you will confer on me the highest obligation; and if you allow me ardently to court every occasion of cultivating, personally, that acquaintance and friendship, which your Lordship has so kindly opened to me, you will still add the only obliging circumstance of which your goodness towards me remains susceptible. I am, with the truest respect and sincerest attachment,

Your Lordship's most obliged

and most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, December 13, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks for the honour of your obliging letter, which I received this morning, and for the confidential manner in which it was written. I heartily wish that quiet

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Robert Pratt was returned for Horsham, and sat for that borough in two parliaments. In 1768, he was appointed a master in chancery, and died in 1775.

and country air may perfectly re-establish your health; in the preservation and activity of which your country and your friends are so much interested, and especially in the present most difficult and dangerous conjuncture.

I have long lamented the melancholy state of the public, both at home and abroad; and I have for some time had my fears, that the present and late exercise of power, felt by every body, and in all places, would have very fatal consequences to this country.⁽¹⁾ Nobody laments more than I do the

(1) On the 24th of November, when the question, "that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels," again came to be discussed, Mr. Pitt, though very ill, came down to the House on crutches, and vehemently reprobated the facility with which parliament was surrendering its own privileges; but he carefully impressed on the House, that he was merely delivering a constitutional opinion, and not vindicating the libel, or its author. He condemned the whole series of North Britons, and called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. "He abhorred," he said, "all national reflections: the King's subjects were one people; whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His Majesty's complaint was well-founded; it was just; it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species; he was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King. He had no connection with him; he had no connection with any such writer. It was true, that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations, could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed, that he alluded to his noble relation (Lord Temple). He was proud to call him his relation; he was his friend, his bosom friend; whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together; they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of that libel."

disinclination in both Houses to come into any measures that shall be proposed; and, as far as my little credit extends, I have, and shall endeavour to prevent the continuance of it.

As to the House of Lords, all I can say is, we have weight, but not numbers; and, what is still worse, a great superiority of debaters against us. I hear it was agreed, at a dinner at the Duke of Devonshire's, where were my Lord Temple and several of our friends, to move a call of the House on some day after the recess. That surely is a right measure, as it will certainly procure a full house, and bring up all our friends; and then it will be considered, what it is proper to do; and surely the present conjuncture is such as ought to be attended to, by all who really love their country. I am told that there is a good spirit in the House of Com-

On the 1st of December, both Houses agreed to address the King on the indignity he had sustained; and the North Briton, No. 45., was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange, on the 3d. "Upon which occasion," writes Horace Walpole to Lord Hertford, "the mob rose, armed with that most bloody instrument, the mud out of the kennels; they hissed in the most murderous manner; broke Mr. Sheriff Harley's coach-glass in the most frangent manner; scratched his forehead, so that he is forced to wear a little patch in the most becoming manner; and obliged the hangman to burn the paper with a link, though faggots were prepared to execute it in a most solemn manner. Numbers of gentlemen, from windows and balconies, encouraged the mob, who in about an hour and a half were so undutiful to the ministry, as to retire without doing any mischief." Pieces of the libel were rescued, and carried in triumph to Temple-bar; where a bonfire was made, and a large jack-boot, in ridicule of Lord Bute, committed to the flames.

mons, in gentlemen of all denominations. I pray God it may be so improved, as to put this country into a state of tranquillity and real peace; for I must say, that that does not seem to be the object of our present ministers. I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.⁽¹⁾

PRINCE CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

Somerset Haus, ce 14^e de Janvier, 1764.⁽²⁾

MONSIEUR,

PARMI le nombre infini des hommes qui vous admirent, je me flatte qu'il ne se trouvera personne,

(¹) In a letter to Mr. Mitchell, of the 12th of January, Lord Barrington says, "I do not expect opposition from Mr. Pitt, when the parliament reassembles; and all other opposition is *brutum fulmen*. Wilkes will be demolished, whether he comes home or stays abroad—and I think government will recover vigour and dignity; both of which it has greatly wanted, in respect to its foreign and domestic concerns. Lord Hardwicke has surprisingly recovered, and I hope will live. Our old friend the Duke of Newcastle is very well at Claremont. I pity him most sincerely, but know not how he can now mend his situation. What a situation he has lost! He might have been the support of the Crown, and the arbiter between government and faction. The reports of changes in Court, and quarrels among Ministers, are groundless. The present time is peculiarly given to lying." — *Mitchell MSS.*

(²) The Prince, who came to England to marry the Princess Augusta, eldest sister of the King, landed at Harwich on the 12th, where he was enthusiastically received by the populace. Lady Chatham, in writing to Mr. Pitt, says, "Mrs. Boscawen tells me they almost pulled down the house in which he was, in order to see him. A substantial Quaker insisted so strongly upon seeing him, that he was allowed to come into

Monsieur, qui vous fera cet aveu de plus grand cœur que moi. Je serois venu vous le témoigner de bouche, dès le moment de mon arrivé ici, si ma situation gênante pour le moment présent ne m'eût interdis cet avantage. Permettez, par conséquent, que je m'acquitte par ces lignes, attendant avec impatience le moment qui me rendra assez heureux de vous réitérer de bouche, que c'est avec la plus haute estime, et la considération la plus distinguée, que j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

CHARLES,

PRINCE HÉRÉDITAIRE DE BRUNSWIC.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE⁽¹⁾ TO
LADY CHATHAM.

January 20, 1764.

I GIVE you many thanks, my dear sister, for your affectionate concern on my account. * * * I went from this melancholy prospect, and almost absolute

the room: he pulled off his hat to him, and said, 'Noble friend, give me thy hand,'—which was given, and he kissed it,—'although I do not fight myself, I love a brave man that will fight. Thou art a valiant prince, and art to be married to a lovely princess; love her, make her a good husband, and the Lord bless you both.'" The Prince arrived the same evening at Somerset House, where he was lodged; and the marriage took place on the evening of the 16th.

(¹) See vol. i. p. 13. On the resignation of Mr. Pitt, in October 1761, Mr. James Grenville relinquished his situation of cofferer of the household. He was at this time member for the town of Buckingham.

certainty, to a scene of uproar, violence, and confusion, greater than I could expect or can describe. Almost every principle of natural and civil justice, as far at least as regards the rules of judicial proceedings, I conceive, were overborne by an ungenerous and an unmanly superiority of numbers. It seemed as if Mr. Wilkes, having given up himself, the order and course of things were altered, and that every one ought or would give up the constitution. The whole business lasted till past five o'clock in the morning. It ought to have been the debate of five days, from the variety of evidence and the delicacy of the questions arising at every step in the course of the whole affair.⁽¹⁾

The *pendente lite* and the parole evidence, either possibly against or possibly prejudicating evidence on oath, was strongly pressed and well enforced by serjeant Hewit⁽²⁾; who proved that proceeding to be likewise unauthorised even by a single precedent. I must do justice to both the Lord

(¹) On the 19th of January, the House of Commons met after the recess; and the order of the day being read, for the attendance of Wilkes, the Speaker produced a letter from him, inclosing a certificate of one of the French King's physicians, and an army surgeon, importing that he could not, without danger, leave Paris. This certificate not being duly authenticated, the House proceeded to the hearing of evidence. The examinations occupied it till three in the morning; when it was resolved, that Wilkes was guilty of writing and publishing the North Briton, No. 45, and that he should, for his said offence, be expelled.

(²) At this time, member for Coventry; in 1766, made one of the judges of the court of king's-bench; in 1767, lord chancellor of Ireland; and in 1768, created baron Lifford, of that kingdom. He died in 1789.

Cavendishes on this head ; especially Lord John, who spoke with sense and spirit. The late attorney-general, Mr. Yorke, and Mr. Charles Townshend entertained different legal sentiments from us, and voted, upon the division, against us. I took upon me to make that division : we were but 70 against 272. I was blamed for exposing the nakedness of our situation in point of numbers.

The objection of examining witnesses to accuse themselves was likewise overborne, and the exercise of that wrong carried to an excess I never saw before. I am shocked when I recollect the manner in which the written evidence was first produced to the House, and the manner in which it was proceeded upon afterwards : in truth, I think myself well warranted to assure you, that, after all, those papers were inconclusive. If Mr. Pitt's health could have allowed the public liberties of this devoted country to have enjoyed one chance more for making a decent stand against open violence and wrong, I do verily believe the consideration of his character and abilities would have greatly diminished the disgrace and misfortune of the times.

I must not forget to mention your friend, Sir John Griffin⁽¹⁾, who voted on the question about the *pendente lite*, &c., against us ; but not without such

(1) Sir John Griffin Griffin, major-general and colonel of the thirty-third regiment. He was at this time member for Andover. In 1784, he established a claim to the barony of Howard de Walden, and in 1788, was created baron Braybrook. He died in 1797.

an explanation of his situation as an officer, and such manly and spirited observations upon the late removals in the army⁽¹⁾, that he was much more an intimidating, than an intimidated voice, on the side of the ministry; but the effect was not the less important against us. He did not affirm, that officers *had been* removed for their conduct in parliament; but *if* they had, or *if* twenty more such removals were intended, the ministry would be still disappointed in their expectations. Mr. Conway voted with us; several new faces were among our small numbers.

About three o'clock in the morning I left this scene, to which I went with a mind truly disabled to do even the little I can at any time perform. I reflect with concern that, in the tumult of things, the affair of papers illegally taken, and as illegally pro-

(1) The removals here spoken of, are thus noticed by Horace Walpole, in a letter to Lord Hertford: — “The measure of turning out the officers in general, who oppose the government, has been much pressed, and, what is still sillier, openly threatened by one set—but they dare not do it; and, having notified it without effect, are ridiculed by the whole town, as well as by the persons threatened, particularly by Lord Albemarle, who has treated their menaces with the utmost contempt and spirit. This mighty storm has vented itself on Lord Shelburne and Colonel Barré, who were yesterday turned out; the first from aide-de-camp to the King, the latter from adjutant-general, and governor of Stirling. My present expectation is an oration from Barré, in honour of Mr. Pitt; for these are scenes that make the world so entertaining! After that, I shall demand a satire on Mr. Pitt from Wilkes; and I do not believe I shall be balked, for Wilkes has already expressed his resentment on being given up by Pitt; who, says Wilkes, ought to be expelled for an impostor.”

duced, was not sufficiently, nor in any reasonable degree for such a point, enforced.

Votes of compliment to the King, Queen, Princess of Wales, Prince of Brunswick and Princess Augusta, upon the marriage, preceded this gloomy transaction. The address movers, in my opinion, performed their part in a good style. The Brunswick family was praised, if not equally to their merits, yet becomingly ; and the topics of the war handled liberally, and not dashed with the usual ingredients ; the glories and the astonishing success of it attributed to the heroism and amazing abilities of the nephew and uncle ; the desperate situation of affairs, and the danger which hung over all Europe at the time when the stand was made by the Brunswick family, well enough touched ; the change produced to this nation, and to the whole Protestant cause, amply enlarged upon. Mr. George Townshend moved for the hereditary Prince and Princess, and did justice, for once, to the cause trusted to him, even with some elegance in parts.

Present my affectionate respects to Mr. Pitt, and with them every sentiment which he deserves most from me, but as I think from all the world ; and believe me to be,

Ever yours most faithfully,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

The Club⁽¹⁾ goes on with new vigour. I am

(¹) The Opposition club, in Albemarle-street ; the origin of which is thus stated in the "History of the Minority":—

infinitely perplexed by the pressing of many quarters to be of it. The acclamations of the theatre, at the appearance of the Prince of Brunswick, exceeded any thing that ever happened. The royal family were present. The ministry were to a man silent, on the day of the votes of compliment.

MR. PITT TO M. DE FERONCE.⁽¹⁾

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Hayes, ce 23^e Janvier, 1764.

MONSIEUR,

J'AI l'esprit si rempli, et le cœur si touché, de l'honneur qui me fut accordé hier, qu'il m'est

“Early in the winter, some gentlemen of weight and character proposed to the party a scheme of association, the purpose of which was to keep their friends together, and to give them the pleasure of meeting and conversing with each other; the idea was approved of by a great part, though not all the minority; and a tavern in Albemarle-street, kept by Mr. Wildman, was fixed upon for the place of meeting. No political business was meant to be transacted at any of the meetings. The intention was simply to preserve union.” Of the Ministerial club, at the Cocoa-tree, Gibbon, in his journal for November, 1762, gives the following description:—“That respectable body, of which I have the honour of being a member, affords every evening a sight truly English. Twenty or thirty, perhaps, of the first men in the kingdom, in point of fashion and fortune, supping at little tables covered with a napkin, in the middle of a coffee-room, upon a bit of cold meat, or a sandwich, and drinking a glass of punch. At present we are full of king's counsellors, and lords of the bed-chamber; who, having jumped into the ministry, make a very singular medley of their old principles and language with their modern ones.”

⁽¹⁾ Chief secretary of Prince Charles of Brunswick.

impossible de ne pas vous adresser quelques mots sur l'étendue de ma sensibilité et de ma reconnaissance la plus respectueuse de toutes ces bontés inestimables, dont Monseigneur le Prince héréditaire a daigné me combler. ⁽¹⁾

Quelque difficile que je m'étois figuré qu'il me fut de porter plus haut l'idée que, sur la voix de l'Europe, j'avois conçu de ce jeune héros, j'ai d'abord reconnu mon erreur; et il me reste maintenant d'un si gracieux entretien les vives impressions à jamais gravées dans la mémoire de ces éminentes qualités, faites pour inspirer aux cœurs un véritable attachement personnel, en commandant toute leur vénération.

Ma goutte, qui en comparaison ne m'a paru un mal, que depuis que S. A. R. est en Angleterre, me défend toujours d'espérer de pouvoir me rendre en ville, avant le jour fixé pour son départ, et de lui offrir de nouveau mes hommages, et ces vœux qui suivront partout, avec chaleur, les pas de cet illustre Prince.

Je ne saurois exprimer à quel point il m'est affligeant de ne pouvoir pas faire ma cour à Madame la Duchesse de Brunswick. Je dirai seulement sur ce sujet intéressant, qu'avec le reste de la nation, je serois inconsolable de voir

¹⁾ The following paragraph appeared in the newspapers of the 23d : — "Yesterday his serene highness the hereditary Prince set out for Hayes, in a post-chaise, attended only by one gentleman and two domestics, to pay a visit to Mr. Pitt; with whom he had a conference for nearly two hours, and expressed great satisfaction."

partir S. A. R., si ce n'étoit pour être l'objet d'envie de toutes les grandes princesses de l'Europe. Agréez, Monsieur, &c., &c.

W. PITT.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

January 25, 1764.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

THE day you went out of town, George Grenville signalised himself in the House in a manner hitherto unprecedented. This great minister, after haranguing half an hour with great indecency, fallacy, &c. &c., against putting off the consideration of the breaches of privilege in Wilkes's affair, on account of the absence of a material witness now in Paris, found himself not only unsupported, but deserted by the whole House, and that matter is adjourned till Monday fortnight; by which time I hope the sick man will take up his bed and walk, for which there is every day more and more necessity.

The division yesterday about cider, was 125 to 167. We had four hours debate in our House. The court modestly intended to have voted Wilkes guilty, without hearing him. We obliged them to alter their question; and it is agreed that he may still make his defence, as if no vote was passed yesterday. The Duke of Devonshire supported

me with three or four sentences, uttered with great dignity, and which carried great weight. The Dukes of Grafton and Newcastle likewise spoke; but the various onsets and heat of the battle fell to the share of

Your most loving and affectionate,
 TEMPLE.

The King goes to the House of Lords this morning. The hereditary Prince will be there, and afterwards sets out. (1)

(1) Walpole, in a letter to Lord Hertford, gives the following particulars of the movements and treatment of the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, during his few days' stay in England:—"I now come to the foolish conduct of the ministry, during the episode of the Prince of Brunswick. The fourth question put to him on his arrival was, 'When do you go?' The servants of the King and Queen were forbid to put on their new clothes for the wedding, or drawing-room, next day, and ordered to keep them for the Queen's birth-day. Such pains were taken to keep the Prince from any of the Opposition, that—he has done nothing but take notice of them. He not only wrote to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, but has been at Hayes to see the latter; and has dined twice with the Duke of Cumberland. He and Princess Augusta have felt and shown their disgusts so strongly, and his suite have complained so much of the neglect and disregard of him, and of the very quick dismissal of him, that the people have caught it, and on Thursday, at the play, received the King and Queen without the least symptom of applause, but repeated such outrageous acclamations to the Prince, as operated very visibly on the King's countenance. I saw the Prince without any difficulty. He is extremely slender, and looks many years older than he is: in short, I suppose it is his manner with which every mortal is captivated; for though he is well enough for a man, he is far from having any thing striking in his person. He is gone to-day, heartily sorry to leave every thing, but St. James's and Leicester-house."

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE TO
LADY CHATHAM.

January 27, 1764.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

SINCE I wrote my last, the House has been engaged in a debate upon the words of a motion for establishing a committee to consider of so much of a bill that passed in the last session as relates to the laying an additional duty on cider. The Treasury proposed an amendment to this motion, in order to restrain the consideration of the committee to an alteration, not to a repeal, of the duty, and to changes in the mode of collection. I should make you as old a woman as either Sandys ⁽¹⁾ or Rushout ⁽²⁾, if I were to state all the jargon that arose in this debate.

It was plain the court meant to preclude any repeal of the bill ; the cider people coldly wished

(1) Many years member for Worcester. He was an active opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, and is called by Smollett the "motion-maker." In 1741 he was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1743 elevated to the peerage, as baron Sandys, of Ombersley. He died in 1770, at a very advanced age.

(2) Sir John Rushout. He sat in ten parliaments, and particularly distinguished himself as an opponent of Sir Robert Walpole's excise scheme. He died in 1775, at the great age of ninety-one. Nash, in his History of Worcestershire, says, "his memory, good-humour, and politeness were then in their full bloom ; old age, which in general is not to be wished for, seemed in him rather an ornament than a burden." In 1797 his son was raised to the peerage, by the title of baron Northwick.

to obtain it. Sir Richard Bampfylde, at the head of them, spoke not his own sentiments, as he declared, but those which the instructions and petitions of his constituents⁽¹⁾ *forced* him to maintain. He was short upon the matter in question, but longer on a more disputable point, in particular upon the politeness, open candour, plain integrity, and justice of Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, in all his transactions with them on this occasion ; and to this all the rest concurred, expressing a zeal for the support of the credit and interests of the present ministers, even to adulation. Mr. Dowdeswell alone left those parts untouched, and directed his aim, if not another way, at least not point blank to the same object. In short, the Tory party showed itself in its true colour of devoted attachment to the court.

Mr. Chancellor laid on his absent friends, appealed to the unvaried course of his conduct, which had always proved how much he had been, from the beginning, against those false measures which had produced such expenses, and by them occasioned such oppressive debts, and made it almost impossible for any successor to carry on the public business. He said, according to his old style, that he always declared against them in private, and added (now for the first time) in public ; talked of wicked industry to excite the people, &c., &c., and resolutions to resist clamour ; of his sense of the worthy labours and zeal of the good country

(1) Sir Richard was member for the county of Devonshire.

gentlemen to render those attempts abortive, &c. We divided, 127 with us ; against us 167.

Mr. Dowdeswell desired me to inform Mr. Pitt, that his view is not to contend for no new duty on cider, and explained his plan to me at large. He much wished for Mr. Pitt's approbation and assistance, and spoke in terms of warm respect for him. Adieu, my dear Lady Chatham,

Ever yours most affectionately,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

M. DE FERONCE TO MR. PITT.

Londres, ce 31^e Janvier, 1764.

MONSIEUR,

LA lettre que vous me fites l'honneur de m'écrire, il y a une huitaine de jours, me fut rendue au milieu des embarras multipliés qui accompagnoient naturellement le départ du Prince. S. A. S. a été très sensible à la manière dont vous vous exprimé, Monsieur, sur ce qui le concerne. Le peu d'instans que le Prince a eu la satisfaction de passer avec vous, lui ont paru très précieux, et il les rappellera toujours avec la sensibilité la plus vive.

S. A. S. m'a ordonné, au moment où je l'ai quitté à Harwich, de vous réitérer, Monsieur, les assurances des sentimens d'attachement et d'admiration qu'elle conservera toute sa vie pour vous. J'ai assisté à l'embarquement de L. A. R. et S. ;

il a eu lieu dimanche à midi. Le capitaine du yacht ne comptoit point mettre à la voile dans la journée, la mer étant trop grosse. Depuis mon arrivée ici, nous n'avons reçu aucune nouvelle ultérieure. (1) J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

DE FÉRONCE.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

February 3, 1764.

MY DEAR MR. PITT,

I WRITE to let you know, that the business of the inquiry relating to the breach of privilege is put off till the 13th of February. It was stirred in the House yesterday by Sir William Meredith and Sir George Savile; who applied for a longer day, upon the ground of wanting a material evidence, by the absence of Mr. Wilkes's principal servant, who was with his master in France. They succeeded in their motion, by the irresistible weight of the natural and striking justice of their demand;

(1) On the 7th of February, Walpole writes to Lord Hertford: — "We have not heard a word yet of the hereditary Prince and Princess. They were sent away in a tempest, and I believe the best one can hope is, that they are driven to Norway. . . . I tremble whilst I continue my letter; having just received such a dreadful story! A captain of a vessel has made oath before the lord mayor this morning, that he saw one of the yachts sink on the coast of Holland; and it is believed to be the one in which the Prince was. The city is in an uproar; nor need one point out all such an accident may produce, if true." The royal pair landed safely at Helvoet on the 2nd.

no man presuming to oppose it, except Mr. George Grenville, who spoke long, and who called as loud as he could for help, but called in vain. It is impossible to describe to you the excess of passion and of prevarication (two things very clashing in other men, but in him amazingly united), that broke out in every period of his harangue. Figure to yourself assertions that were contradicted by the feeling, seeing, and hearing of every man round him. He dissuaded the House from entering into the matter : “ In the delicacy of that business, to do it at all was merely wantonly and merrily,” (think what words) “ to force on resolutions delicate and dangerous ; to say that in no case whatever a seizure of papers was legal, or that in all cases whatever ” (which he said was *law* now) “ it should be legal, were extremes full of difficulty.” The House with one voice groaned, and expressed a disapprobation I never heard at some other parts of his assertions.

I should be endless if I were to give you a particular narrative of the principles, doctrines, and arguments he employed. His gods left him. The Viscount Strange⁽¹⁾ himself was there, and declared

(1) Eldest son of the Earl of Derby, and at this time chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. He died during his father's life-time, in 1771. He always called himself Lord Strange, though the title, which was a barony in fee, had descended to the Duke of Atholl. Walpole, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, written in 1758, tells a pleasant story of him :—“ On the new taxes we had an entertaining piece of pomp from the Speaker. Lord Strange (it was in a committee) said, ‘ I will bring him down

against him. Lord North was absent; the only comforter he found was in the late attorney-general, Mr. Charles Yorke, whose comfort was bitterness; for it only reproached him with having yielded unnecessarily to this inquiry at the first motion of it.

To be short, you will find (what you expected) that the seizure of the papers is the most inextricable point of the whole affair; the most prerogative spirits, even of these times, are at a stand upon it, and want an issue. They are under great difficulties likewise on the warrant. The club met yesterday, in great figure and spirits. Honours were paid to you absent; to none else present, though the greatest were there. The Duke of Newcastle asked me, whether you had sent a message to excuse yourself the morning after your great visit. He said it should have been done. I knew nothing, but supposed every thing right was done. Adieu.

Ever yours most affectionately,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

from the gallery;' and proposed, that the Speaker should be exempted from the place-tax. He came down, and besought not to be excepted. Lord Strange persisted — so did the Speaker. After the debate, Lord Strange going out, said, 'Well, did not I show my dromedary well?' I should tell you, that one of the fashionable sights of the winter has been a dromedary and camel, the proprietor of which has entertained the town with a droll variety of advertisements."

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, Wednesday, 10 o'clock.
[February 15, 1764.]

DEAR SIR,

MR. WEST and honest George Onslow came to my bed-side this morning, to give me an account of the glorious day we had yesterday⁽¹⁾, and of the great obligations which every true lover of the liberties of his country and our present constitution owe to you, for the superior ability, firmness, and resolution, which you showed, during the longest attendance that ever was known. God forbid that your health should suffer by your zeal for your

(1) On the 13th of February, the question of privilege, notwithstanding Wilkes's absence, came on to be debated. The House sat for eleven hours. At midnight, Mr. Grenville offered to adjourn, but Mr. Pitt begged not to eat or sleep till so great a point had been decided. On the following day the debate was resumed, when the House sat *seventeen* hours. On a division upon an amendment, the numbers were 207 against 197, leaving the ministers in a majority of only ten:—"Crest-fallen," says Walpole, "they then proposed simply to discharge the complaint against Wood, for a breach of privilege; but the plumes which they had dropped, Pitt soon placed in his own beaver. He broke out on liberty, and, indeed, on whatever he pleased, uninterrupted. Rigby sat feeling the vice-treasurership slipping from under him. Nugent was not less pensive. Every body was too much taken up with his own concerns, or too much daunted, to give the least disturbance to the Pindaric. Mr. Pitt bore the fatigue with his usual spirit, and even old Onslow, the last Speaker, was sitting up, anxious for the event. I have heard Garrick, and other players, give themselves airs of fatigue, after a long part—think of the Speaker—nay, think of the clerks, taking most correct minutes, for sixteen hours, and reading them over to every witness; and then let me hear of fatigue!"

country! As a faithful friend to it, I return you my most sincere thanks, with a most hearty prayer, that your great and glorious endeavours may meet with their deserved success.

I shall just call at your door, to inquire after your health some time this forenoon. I am, dear Sir, yours most affectionately,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Newcastle House, Saturday morning.
[February 20, 1764.]

DEAR SIR,

I shall not be easy till I hear that you have not increased your pain and disorder, by your long attendance and the great service you did yesterday to the public. (1) I shall leave a servant behind,

(1) On the main question, as to the illegality of general warrants, which was debated on the 19th, Mr. Pitt again attended:—“All that the Crown had desired, and the ministers wished, had,” he said, “been accomplished, in the conviction and expulsion of Mr. Wilkes; and therefore it was now their duty to do justice to the nation, the constitution, and the law.” He denied that precedent afforded any justification; and said, that when he himself issued such warrants, he knew them to be illegal, but, preferring the general safety, in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he ran the risk, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like motive. “What,” he asked, “was there in a libel so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable instrument, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted away its own privilege, and laid the per-

to bring me word how you do, after your great fatigue. I would not, however, omit thanking you, and congratulating you upon your great and glorious minority, before I went to Claremont. Such a minority, with such a leader, composed of gentlemen of the greatest and most independent fortunes in the kingdom, against a majority of fourteen only, influenced by power and force, and fetched from all corners of the kingdom, must have its weight, and produce the most happy consequences to the public.

I am, with the greatest respect and affection, &c.

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

MR. PITT TO MRS. ALLEN.

Hayes, July 4, 1764.

DEAR MADAM,

I TRUST you will pardon this early intrusion upon affliction, from one who truly feels your irreparable

sonal freedom of every representative of the nation at the mercy of the attorney-general. If the House negatived the motion, they would be the disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of posterity." Upon a division, the numbers were, for the motion 218; for the adjournment of the debate for four months 232; leaving the ministers a majority of only fourteen. Among the minority, was General Conway; for which vote he was deprived of all his civil and military employments. It was during these discussions, that Sir Fletcher Norton is said to have declared, that "he should regard a resolution of the members of the House of Commons, no more than he would do the oaths of so many drunken porters in Covent Garden."

misfortune, together with a sincere solicitude for your situation. Your share in the general loss I do not attempt to put into words : I will only say that, in Mr. Allen, mankind has lost such a benevolent and tender friend as, I fear, not all the example of his virtues will have power to raise up to the world his like again. Admiring his life, and deploring the shortness of it, I shall ever respectfully cherish his memory, and rank the continuation of the favourable opinion and friendship of a truly good man amongst the happiest advantages and the first honours, which fortune may have bestowed upon my life.

Accept, Madam, my constant wishes for your consolation and health ; and believe me to be, with the most perfect regard, dear Madam,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

I desire to present my compliments and condolences to all the family of Prior Park.

(¹) Mr. Allen died at Prior Park on the 29th of June. By his last will, he bequeathed Mr. Pitt one thousand pounds. In a letter to Dr. Doddridge, written in February 1743, Warburton thus describes him :—"I verily believe Mr. Allen to be the greatest private character that ever appeared in any age of the world. You see his munificence to the Bath hospital ; this is but a small part of his charities, and charity but a small part of his virtues. I have studied his character, even maliciously, to find where his weakness lies ; but have studied it in vain. In a word, I firmly believe him to have been sent by Providence into the world, to teach men what blessings they might expect from Heaven, would they study to deserve them."

[In Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Lady Chatham desires to assure Mrs. Allen of her sincere concern for her great loss, and to express to Mrs. Warburton and Miss Allen her compliments of condolence.

MR. PITT TO WILLIAM TAYLOR HOW, ESQ. ⁽¹⁾

Hayes, July 4, 1764.

SIR,

THE honour of your obliging letter from Spa brought me the melancholy news of Count Algarotti's death, together with the information of the last very affecting testimony of esteem which that gentleman has left behind him, in favour of one who only knew him in his works and in his fame, and who must now for ever resign the pleasing

(¹) This letter is in reply to one from Mr. Taylor How, dated Spa, June the 12th, containing the following passage: — "In a letter received last night, containing the afflicting news of Count Algarotti's death, together with an account of his having left me a testimony of his friendship by way of legacy, mention is likewise made of a '*Porta-foglio con varij bei disegni*' bequeathed to you, Sir. Though it is highly probable, that either his heir or executors may have sent, or will very soon send, this intelligence to a person of your note and name; yet, relying upon the experience which I have ever had of your condescension and good nature, I presume to hope, that you will not think the information altogether impertinent from me. Should there be any difficulty about the mode of conveyance, I would offer myself a candidate for the honour of receiving your orders. The count died on the 24th of May,"

hope he had formed of a personal acquaintance and friendship with a person, who does equal honour to letters by the elegance of his compositions, and to human nature by the integrity, candour, and generosity of his character.

The fresh instance of your flattering regard and attention which this mournful occasion has brought me, is too truly felt to omit assuring you, how highly I value it ; and, as we naturally venture to trouble soonest with our concerns those we most esteem, I am encouraged to recur, in case you return to Italy, to the good offices you so kindly offer me, with regard to an object I prize so dearly as Count Algarotti's legacy. I am, &c.

W. PITT.

THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE TO MR. PITT.

Arlington Street, August 29, 1764.

SIR,

As you have always permitted me to offer you the trifles printed at my press, I am glad to have one to send you of a little more consequence, than some in which I have had myself too great a share. The singularity of the work⁽¹⁾ I now trouble you

(1) The Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, written by himself; of which Walpole, in a letter to Mr. Montagu, gives the following history : — "I found it a year ago at Lady Hertford's, to whom Lady Powis had lent it. I took it up, and soon threw it down again, as the dullest thing I ever saw. She persuaded me to take it home. My Lady Waldegrave was here, in all her

with is greater merit than its rarity ; though there are but two hundred copies printed, of which only half are mine. If it amuses an hour or two of your idle time, I am overpaid. My greatest ambition is to pay that respect, which every Englishman owes to your character and services ; and therefore you must not wonder if an inconsiderable man seizes every opportunity, however awkwardly, of assuring you, that he is, Sir,

Your most devoted

humble servant,

, HORACE WALPOLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO MR. PITT.

Claremont, October 19, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

I TAKE the liberty to send you copies of two letters, which I received yesterday and the day

grief. Gray and I read it to amuse her. We could not get on for laughing and screaming. I begged to have it to print : Lord Powis, sensible of the extravagance, refused — I insisted — he resisted. I told my Lady Hertford it was no matter, I would print it, I was determined. I sat down and wrote a flattering dedication to Lord Powis, which I knew he would swallow : he did — and gave up his ancestor. But this was not enough ; I was resolved the world should not think I admired it seriously, though there are really fine passages in it, and good sense too : I drew up an equivocal preface, in which you will discover my opinion, and sent it with the dedication. The Earl gulped down the one, under the palliative of the other ; and here you will have it."

before from Sir George Yonge. ⁽¹⁾ The contents of them were entirely new to me, except what I had observed in the printed papers. I send you also my answer to the first. To the last, I have yet made none; and I do not think it requires my immediate answer. The subject of these two letters seems to me to be a delicate one, and to require many explanations, before any fixed opinion or judgment can be made upon it.

I am very unfit, in every respect, for a negociation of this kind to pass through my hands; but as it is an affair of importance, and possibly some advantage to the public might arise from it, I hope you will excuse my troubling you immediately with all I know of it, as I shall do some few of my particular friends, under the strictest caution of secrecy. If you should think proper to honour me with your thoughts, what farther steps, if any at present, should be taken, in consequence of these letters from Sir George Yonge, I should be very much obliged to you, and make no other use of them but such as you shall direct.

I know the regard you had for our great and valuable friend the Duke of Devonshire ⁽²⁾, and I

⁽¹⁾ Sir George Yonge was at this time member for Honiton, and had recently published a letter to his constituents, relative to his conduct in parliament on the questions of general warrants. The subject to which the above letter immediately refers has not been ascertained.

⁽²⁾ The Duke of Devonshire died on the 2d of October, at the German Spa; whither he had gone for the benefit of his health. "There's a chapter for moralising!" writes Walpole to

cannot but lament with you our public and private loss.

I am very sorry that I have not been able to wait upon you this summer at Hayes, as I fully intended. I desired my Lord Lincoln to acquaint you with the cause of it; namely, the ill state of the poor Duchess of Newcastle's health. The many great losses, both public and private, which we have had this summer, have very greatly affected her; and the last of all, which happened on Monday, of her old friend and companion of above forty-five years, poor Mrs. Spence⁽¹⁾, has added much to the melancholy situation in which she was before. She desires me to make her best compliments to you and Lady Chatham, to whom I beg you would also present mine. I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth and respect, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate,

and obedient humble servant,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE,

Lord Hertford, "but five and forty, with forty thousand pounds a year, and happiness wherever he turned him! My reflection is, that it is folly to be unhappy at any thing, when felicity itself is such a phantom!"

(1) She was related to the Rev. Joseph Spence, the friend of Pope, and author of "Polymetis," "Anecdotes," &c.; who had been travelling tutor to Henry Earl of Lincoln, afterwards second Duke of Newcastle. In writing to Lord Hertford, on the 3d of November, Horace Walpole says, "Hogarth is dead, and so is Mrs. Spence, who lived with the Duchess of Newcastle. She had saved twenty thousand pounds, which she leaves to her sister, and after her, to Tommy Pelham;"—afterwards third Duke of Newcastle, and father of the present Duke.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

October —, 1764.

MY LORD,

I AM not able to begin my answer to the letter your Grace has honoured me with, by any thing but sincere condolences upon your domestic loss of poor Mrs. Spence, and the continuance of the Duchess of Newcastle's illness, and by expressing how sensibly and deeply I feel the great public loss of the Duke of Devonshire ; whose composition and virtues must have endeared him in any times, and which, in my judgment, render the loss irreparable in the present.

As to the letters which your Grace has done me the honour to transmit to me, and which I herewith return inclosed, I can only present my best acknowledgments for the favourable sentiments which moved your Grace to make to me such a communication. As for the matter itself (which I perceive was not intended for my consideration), I must entreat your Grace to excuse me from offering any opinion whatever, as to the steps which you may think proper to take relating thereto. Of that your Grace, who has to consider the various personal attachments which follow you, can be only fit judge. As for *my single self*, I purpose to continue acting through life upon the best convictions I am able to form, and under the obligation of principles, not by the force of any particular bargains. I presume

not to judge for those, who think they see daylight to serve their country by such means ; but shall continue myself, as often as I think it worth the while to go to the House, to go there *free from stipulations*, about every question under consideration, as well as to come out of the House as free as I entered it. I have some right to hope that your Grace will not attribute this reserve to want of confidence, having *declared most explicitly, on all occasions*, that whatever I think it my duty to oppose, or to promote, I shall do it independent of the sentiments of others.

Continuing, then, unalterable in the way of thinking your Grace was no stranger to, not to mix myself, nor to suffer others to mix me, in any bargains or stipulations whatever, I could much have wished your Grace had not done me the great honour to ask my advice upon the matter proposed to your Grace ; and I humbly and earnestly entreat, that, for the future, the consideration of me may not weigh at all, in any answer your Grace may have to make to propositions of a political nature. Having seen the close of last session, and the system of that great war, in which my share of the ministry was so largely arraigned, given up *by silence* in a full House, I have little thoughts of beginning the world again upon a new centre of union. Your Grace will not, I trust, wonder, if after so recent and so strange a phenomenon in politics, I have no disposition to quit the free condition of a man standing *single*, and daring to appeal to his country at large, upon the soundness of his principles and the rectitude of his conduct.

Lady Chatham joins with me, in desiring to assure the Duchess of Newcastle of respectful compliments and sincere wishes for her Grace's speedy and entire recovery. I have been ailing some days, though not confined. The young tribe are infinitely honoured by your Grace's kind remembrance of them, and are all, thank God, well. I have the honour to remain, with perfect respect, yours &c.,
W. PITT. (1)

(1) In the following month, the office of master of the rolls was given to Sir Thomas Sewell, and Mr. Charles Yorke received a patent of precedence, by which he took place at the bar, next to the attorney-general. The several changes, at this time in agitation, are detailed in the following letter from the Right Hon. William Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft; being the first of the series referred to in the advertisement to the present volume. For a brief notice of Mr. Hamilton, who, from the extraordinary impression made by his first and almost only speech in parliament, obtained the appellation of *Single Speech* Hamilton, see vol. i., p. 126. He was, at this time, chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland.

"THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON TO
JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ.

"St. James's Street, December 1, 1764.

"DEAR CALCRAFT,

"I WRITE to you, not because I have any thing to say, but lest you should suspect me of being, what you will never find me, inattentive to your commands. The appointment to the rolls, you knew before you left London. After all that had passed, it surprised every one exceedingly, and I am told no one more than Sewell himself, who had never applied for it, and who had no idea that he was in the contemplation of government, till the acceptance of the office was proposed to him by the chancellor and Lord Mansfield jointly. Many of his friends, however, wonder that he did not decline it, as he was in full business at the chancery bar, by which he was supposed to have made between three and four thousand pounds per

THE REV. PAUL SHENTON TO MR. PITT.

Hartlipp, near Chatham.

December 4, 1764.

HONOURED SIR,

I AM a clergyman, and a sincere well-wisher to the glorious society in Albemarle-street, and to all

annum, and as he takes the rolls without any additional salary, by which it is narrowed to a mere two thousand five hundred per annum; his predecessor in that office* having constantly kept the leases under him filled up every year, so that none of them will expire for twenty-one years to come. I perceive it is the language of administration to commend highly Norton's behaviour, during the course of this transaction. They pretend to say, that he was so pliant as to offer to accommodate government in any way they pleased; that he did not wish for the rolls, but would accept of them, if they desired it; and that he was so prodigiously delicate, as to declare he could think of no addition that was personal, and to himself, but that before he submitted to take it, it must be annexed to the office.

"Mr. Yorke's patent of precedency, by himself and his friends, is stated as a piece of very disinterested conduct; but is considered, by all the rest of the world in a very different light. His having a promise of being chancellor is asserted, and denied, exactly as people are differently affected to him; but the opinion of his being to succeed his brother as teller of the exchequer gains credit. Sandwich, it is said, is very tenacious as to the stewardship of Cambridge. I profess I have no idea of Norton's declining any offer of solid advantage, or of Sandwich's avidity in the pursuit of unprofitable and barren honour. I should suspect that he would make the same answer that Bell Boyle† did, when it was proposed to him to be a privy-councillor, 'That he had determined never to accept of an honour, while

* Sir Thomas Clarke.

† Many years chancellor of the Irish exchequer. In 1756, he was created Earl of Shannon, and died in 1764.

Mr. Pitt's friends and party. I have often had thoughts of making my wishes known to Mr. Pitt, but have hitherto been deterred by the fear and awe of approaching so great a name. I have at length broke through my natural timidity, and have ventured in this manner to let the glorious minority know, they have many friends in secret.

My intention of intruding upon your time, is this. In my two parishes I can procure eight or nine votes; and in the neighbourhood I may venture to say I could procure twenty. I belong to a club of gentlemen, some of whom have votes, and all sincere partizans of Mr. Pitt. Our intention is to bring in at the election for the county some gentleman of your party; that is, the party of honour and virtue. If Mr. Wilkes returns to England by the time of the election, and if you would honour us so far as to send down that able statesman, I sincerely believe the county in general would elect him for his own and your sake. If it is incompatible with Mr. Wilkes's affairs to represent the

there was a single guinea left in the treasury.' Mr. Yorke seemed to be so much ashamed of his new patent, that he did not come to kiss hands for it on Friday; which you know was a crowded day at court. Great attention paid by every one, on that day, to the Duke of Bedford! It is thought, that the move, as to Ireland, is still in agitation. This, I believe, is all the news of the day. I need not tell you, I am not so situated as to have any other information, nor do I wish it. Last summer has convinced me that the books are the true things to abide by. My full intention is to follow your example, to leave off business, and always to remain, my dear Calcraft, yours most unalterably,

WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON."

county, I dare be bold to say, that the county will make choice of any one you will recommend.

I have some thoughts of writing a pamphlet, to exhort the people of England to repeal the union act. This book I should be extremely glad of dedicating to lord chief justice Pratt; or, if I could have your permission of dedicating it to yourself, I should think myself superlatively happy. In this little pamphlet I have traced the union from the time that Edward the First conquered Scotland, and shall point out, *honesto calamo*, all the miseries and disgraces England has suffered, since she has been united to that barren province. I have nothing more to add, but to ask your pardon for this great freedom. I am, honourable Sir,

Your most obedient most humble servant,

PAUL SHENTON.

MR. PITT TO THE REV. PAUL SHENTON.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, December 8, 1764.

SIR,

HAVING received a letter signed with the name to which I direct this, I cannot defer a moment expressing my astonishment and concern, that one of your rank, a clergyman, could so misconceive of me, as to imagine that I countenanced libels, because I disapproved part of the methods of pro-

ceeding relating to them. Let me undeceive you, Sir, by telling you, that no well-wisher of mine, which you are so good as to say you are, can have led you into this error. I have ever abhorred such odious and dangerous writings; and in the late unhappy instance of the North Briton, no man concurred more heartily than I did, in condemning and branding so licentious and criminal a paper.

Next, as to a pamphlet, which you say you have thoughts of writing, to exhort the people of England to repeal the act of union, and which you wish to dedicate to me, or to the great magistrate you mention; — know, Sir, that I revere the union, as the main foundation of the strength and security of this island; that it was the great object of our immortal deliverer, King William; that France may wish to dissolve it, but that all good Englishmen will ever maintain it inviolate.

You will, I doubt not, accept, in good part, this free, but not un-useful admonition to misguided zeal; and if you really favour me with your good wishes, you will be glad to understand me aright. Be assured then, Sir, that I disdain and detest faction, as sincerely as I reverence and love the laws, rights, privileges, and honour of my country.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

P.S.—This letter to you may serve for all who, like you, are so widely mistaken concerning me.

LORD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, Sunday night,
January —, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

THE news Lord Temple brought me to-day from Hayes would have carried me thither to-morrow, if I had not been afraid that too much company would be troublesome to you, in your present state of health. I therefore take this way of assuring you of my joy on so happy an event. Fortune comes to you in the only manner in which you would give her a hearty welcome : she is brought by Virtue, and attended by Honour.

I most heartily congratulate Lady Chatham, Miss Pitt, and your young family, on the agreeable method Sir William Pynsent⁽¹⁾ has found of express-

(¹) Sir William Pynsent, a gentleman of ancient family in Somersetshire, who died on the 12th of January, bequeathed to Mr. Pitt an estate, of nearly three thousand a year. In a letter to Lord Hertford, of the 20th, Horace Walpole says, — “ Our important day, on the general warrants, is put off for a week, in compliment to Mr. Pitt’s gout. Can it resist such attention? You have heard, to be sure, of the great fortune that is bequeathed to him by a Sir William Pynsent, an old man of nearly ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht, and, luckily for Mr. Pitt, lived to be as angry with its *pendant*, the treaty of Paris. I did not send you the first report, which mounted it to an enormous sum. I think the medium amount is two thousand a year, and thirty thousand pounds in money. This Sir William Pynsent—whose fame, like an aloe, did not blow till near a hundred — was a singularity.”

ing the sense of the public, and — what is at this time the best act of patriotism — helping to pay the public debt.

I am ever, with great truth, Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

LYTTELTON.

M. DE FERONCE TO MR. PITT.

Brunswic, ce 1 Février, 1765.

MONSIEUR,

MES sentimens d'attachement et d'admiration pour vous ne me permettent point de me taire, lorsqu'il s'agit d'un évènement qui peut vous être agréable. La démarche noble et généreuse d'un de vos concitoyens à votre égard, a causé la sensation la plus satisfaisante à tous ceux qui ont le bonheur de vous connoître. Ce trait étoit réservé à cette nation respectable, qui, sous votre ministère, est parvenue au comble de la gloire.

Son altesse royale, la Princesse héréditaire, m'a donné ordre de vous faire parvenir les assurances de son estime la plus distinguée, et ses félicitations les plus sincères. Monseigneur le Prince héréditaire se fait une gloire de penser à votre sujet, comme son auguste épouse. Cette union est des plus heureuses, et met le comble à ma joie. Je connois trop votre façon de penser, pour n'être pas persuadé, que vous y prenez vivement part.

Nous avons le bonheur de posséder ici Monseigneur le Duc Ferdinand. Son altesse sérénissime jouit d'une santé parfaite, après toutes les fatigues essuyées durant six années consécutives. Ce prince est aussi aimable dans la société, qu'il étoit respectable à la tête de vos armées. Il est rempli pour vous, Monsieur, des sentimens les plus distingués et les plus invariable.

Oserois-je me flatter, Monsieur, qu'un éloignement d'un an ne m'aura pas tout-à-fait effacé de votre mémoire? Je vous conjure d'être persuadé, qu'une des époques les plus satisfaisantes de ma vie, a été celle qui m'a mis à même de vous voir, de vous entendre, et de vous admirer.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c. &c.

DE FÉRONCE,
Conseiller Privé.

MR. PITT TO M. DE FÉRONCE.

[From a draught in Lady Chatham's handwriting.]

Hayes, ce — Février, 1765.

MONSIEUR,

JE fus retenu au lit par une goutte des plus sévères, quand je reçus l'honneur de votre lettre. Jugez avec quelle impatience j'ai conté les momens depuis, (cette même goutte me persécutant toujours,) dans l'espérance de reprendre assez de force, pour vous témoigner, de ma propre main, à quel point cette condéscendance si infiniment gra-

cieuse, et ces bontés illimités, dont vous me faites part, d'une manière si obligeante, m'ont portées la consolation et la joie dans le cœur.

Je saisis maintenant le premier moment de convalescence, pour vous supplier de me mettre aux pieds de leurs altesses sérénissimes et royales, avec l'offre le plus humble de mes hommages ; renouvelant, en même temps, les respectueuses assurances, que je ne cesserai jamais de mettre ma gloire et mon bonheur en la continuation de leur haute protection, comme aussi de compter pour le premier de mes regrets de n'avoir à leur offrir que le tribut d'une zèle inutile, et d'une admiration aussi infructueuse qu'illimitée.

Puisse le ciel continuer à repandre toutes ses faveurs sur l'heureuse union de ces illustres époux ; mesurant leur bonheur domestique à l'étendue de la renommée de la maison de Brunswic ! Le très gracieux souvenir dont Monseigneur le Duc Ferdinand daigne m'honorer me pénètre l'âme de sentimens au dessus de toute expression. Ce que vous me dites, Monsieur, de la santé parfaite de son altesse sérénissime, et de la manière de vivre de ce Prince me touche infiniment. Quel spectacle, en effet, plus intéressant, que de voir ce vainqueur des François, après tous ces immortels travaux, jouissant, dans le sein de sa patrie, des douceurs de la société, et en faisant lui-même les délices ! J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

W. PITT.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

Half-past one, Friday. [May 10, 1765.]

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

I HAVE kept your servant till now, as Lord Lyttelton appointed to call upon me at eleven; and, in these very wonderful times, I wished to be able to report the result of the conversation.

I now find it to be upon the subject of a meeting proposed to be had at Lord Rockingham's this morning, on the insertion of the name of the Princess of Wales in the Regency bill⁽¹⁾; which was

(1) Early in April, the King was attacked by an alarming illness. Upon his recovery, in a speech from the throne, on the 24th of that month, he proposed to the consideration of parliament, the expediency of vesting in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments under his sign-manual, either the Queen, or any other person of the royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be guardian of his successor, and regent of the kingdom, till that successor should attain the age of eighteen. A bill being accordingly brought into the House of Lords, Lord Lyttelton moved an address to the King, to name the person he would recommend for regent; which was rejected by eighty-nine to thirty-one. After this, the Duke of Richmond moved, that the persons capable of the regency should be the Queen, the Princess Dowager, and all the descendants of the late King usually resident in England; which was also rejected: but, on the following day, Lord Halifax moved the Duke of Richmond's own words, with the single omission of the Princess Dowager's name: "And thus, she alone," writes Walpole to Lord Hertford, "is rendered incapable of the Regency, and stigmatised by act of parliament! The astonishment of the world is not to be described. Lord Bute's friends are thunderstruck; the Duke of Richmond almost danced about the House for joy: some palliate it, by

yesterday accomplished in the manner I shall hereafter relate. I was not invited to the meeting. Lord Lyttelton wished to know my thoughts, and at first seemed to think it indispensable that we should attend in the House of Lords, in order to disagree with the amendment. In the course of the conversation I think I convinced him of the contrary, and his declarations were, that he was fully resolved, in all points and situations, to keep himself upon Mr. Pitt's ground and mine; which he will this day give to understand very clearly.

On Tuesday, the debate in the House of Commons, upon the second reading, was of the most superlative dullness. Lord John Cavendish persisted in making a motion for an address, similar to that moved in the Lords by Lord Lyttelton, contrary, as I learn, to the general opinion of a previous meeting, and the protest of many others who were not there. The party in general would have gone with Mr. Pitt, if he had come up; and great were the expectations. Inability and meanness are the characteristics of this whole proceeding. I shall pass over the very uninteresting parts of this matter, and relate only the phenomenon of Moreton's⁽¹⁾

saying it was done at the Princess's desire; but the most inquisitive say, the King was taken by surprise, and that Lord Halifax did not observe to his Majesty the omission of his mother's name. Be that as it may, open war seems to be declared between the court and the administration, and men are gazing to see which side will be victorious."

(¹) Chief justice of Chester, and member for Abingdon.

motion yesterday, seconded by Kynaston, without a speech, and thirded by the illustrious Sam. Martin. The speech of the first was dull, and of the latter very injudicious; saying, that the House of Lords had passed a stigma on the Princess of Wales, disclaiming all knowledge of her wishes, but concluding with a strong affirmative. George Onslow opposed the motion with very bad reasons; Lord Palmerston with much better. George Grenville seemed to convey, that the alteration made in the Lords was not without the King's knowledge; but that, to be sure, in his opinion, such a testimony of zeal and affection which now manifested itself in the House of Commons, in favour of his royal mother, could not but prove agreeable to his Majesty, and that therefore he should concur in it.

The Cocoa-tree have thus capacitated her royal highness to be regent: it is well they have not given us a king, if they have not; for many think Lord Bute is king. No division; many noes.⁽¹⁾

(1) On the following day, when the amendment was reported, the House divided; for it 167, against it 97. "But now," continues Walpole, "to unfold all this black scene; it comes out, that the Bedfords had stirred up our fools to do what they did not dare to do themselves. Old Newcastle had even told me, that unless we opposed the Princess, the Duke of Bedford would not. To-morrow our correction goes to the Lords. It will be a day of wonderful expectation, to see in what manner they will swallow their vomit. When the bill shall be passed, the eyes of mankind will turn to see what will be the consequence. The Princess, and Lord Bute, and the Scotch, do not affect to conceal their indignation. If Lord Halifax is even reprieved, the King is more enslaved to a cabal than ever his

I think of returning to town on Saturday, for a week; and then, farewell to the metropolis for many a month! I am, as usual, to all Hayes

Most affectionately devoted,

TEMPLE.⁽¹⁾

grandfather was. One remedy is obvious, and at which, after such insults and provocations, were I Lord Bute, I should not stick. I would deliver myself up, bound hand and foot, to Mr. Pitt, rather than not punish such traitors and wretches, who murmur, submit, affront, and swallow, in the most ignominious manner — ‘*Oh, il faudra qu’il y vienne,*’ as Leonore says in the *Marquis de Roselle*, — ‘*il y viendra.*’” The bill, with the amendment, passed the Lords. On the 15th of May, when the King went in person to give it the royal assent, a mob of journeymen silk-weavers proceeded to St. James’s, with black flags, for the purpose of petitioning for relief, under pretence that they were reduced to a state of starvation, by the encouragement of French silks. They also surrounded both houses of parliament, and insulted the members. In the evening, the mob assaulted Bedford-house, and began to pull down the walls; but were eventually dispersed by the soldiery.

(¹) Mr. Burke, in a letter to Mr. Flood, of the 18th of May, thus states his view of the political prospect at this moment: — “There is a strong probability that new men will come in, and not improbably with new ideas: at this very instant, the causes productive of such a change are strongly at work. The Regency bill has shown such a want of concert and want of capacity in ministers, such an inattention to the honour of the Crown, if not a design against it, such imposition and surprise upon the King, and such a misrepresentation of the disposition of parliament to the Sovereign, that there is no doubt a fixed resolution to get rid of them all (except perhaps of Grenville); but principally of the Duke of Bedford: so that you will have much more reason to be surprised to find the ministry standing by the end of next week, than to hear of their entire removal.”

Three days previous to the date of Mr. Burke’s letter, the Duke of Cumberland had actually entered into a negotiation with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, respecting a change, and

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, June 17, 1765.

MR. PITT,

I THIS moment, with the utmost joy, receive his Majesty's commands, to desire you would attend

first applied to the former for his conditions. The Duke did not object to them, but required that the Earl of Northumberland should be at the head of the treasury: to this Lord Temple replied, that he never would come into office under Lord Bute's lieutenant; and here the conference broke off. On the 19th, the Duke waited on Mr. Pitt, at Hayes; where he was met by Lord Temple, and the subject renewed. Mr. Pitt declared, he was ready to go to St. James's, "if he could carry the constitution along with him." The next day, Lord Frederick Cavendish was sent from the Duke to Mr. Pitt, with a modification of the proposal respecting Lord Northumberland; and Mr. Pitt returned the same answer. The situation of first lord of the treasury was then offered to Lord Lyttelton, who desired to consult Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt; thereupon, his Royal Highness, convinced that no advantage could be derived from further negotiation, advised the King to continue his present servants. "On the following day," says Walpole, "they dictated their terms: they demanded a royal promise, of never consulting Lord Bute; secondly, the dismissal of Mr. Stuart Mackenzie from the direction of Scotland; thirdly, and lastly, for they could go no further, the Crown itself; or, in their words, the nomination of Lord Granby to be captain-general. The King expressed his anger and astonishment, and bade them return at ten at night for his answer; but, before that, he sent the chancellor to the junto, consenting to displace Mackenzie, refusing to promise not to consult Lord Bute, though acquiescing to his not interfering in business, but with a peremptory refusal to the article of Lord Granby. They took till next morning to advise on their answer, when they gave up the point of Lord Granby, but demanded Mackenzie's place for Lord Lorn, and the instant removal of Lord Holland; both which have been granted. Charles Townshend is pay-master, and Lord Wey-

him at the Queen's-house, on Wednesday, at ten in the morning, below stairs. He allows for the

mouth viceroy of Ireland ; so Lord Northumberland remains on the *pavé*."

The following is Mr. Stuart Mackenzie's own account of his removal, in a letter to Mr. Mitchell, dated Hill-street, June 4 :—"The Duke of Cumberland's advice to his Majesty, to send for the present people again, was seconded by two men, no less attached to the King, nor no less bound in council, than the Duke himself; I mean the Lord Chancellor and Lord Egmont. His Majesty, offended in the highest degree with the insolence offered him by his present ministers, would have put any mortal in their places, that could have carried on business, if the three great personages above mentioned could have suggested to him any plan for that purpose. And they undoubtedly would have done it, if they could; as there is no animal on the face of the earth, that the Duke has a more thorough contempt for, or a greater aversion to, than Grenville. However, as no other remedy could be found, his Majesty sent for these people again. They, on their part, demanded certain terms, without which they declined coming in; the principal of which was, that I should be dismissed from the administration of the affairs of Scotland, and (on a further explanation) likewise from the office of privy-seal. His Majesty answered, that as to the first, it would be no great punishment, he believed, to me, as I had never been very fond of the employment; but that as to the second, I had his promise to continue it for life. Grenville replied to this purpose, 'In that case, Sir, we must decline coming in.'—'No,' says the King, 'I will not, on that account, put the whole kingdom in confusion, and leave it without a government at all; but I will tell you how that matter stands; that he has my royal word to continue in the office: and if you force me, from the situation of things, to violate my royal word, remember you are responsible for it, and not I.' Upon that very solemn charge, Grenville answered, 'Sir, we must make some arrangement for Mr. Mackenzie.' The King replied, 'If I know any thing of him, he will give himself very little trouble about your arrangements for him.'

"His Majesty afterwards sent for me to his closet; where I was a very considerable time with him, and if it were possible

infirmities of the gout, but also knows where merit is. I remain your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM. ⁽¹⁾

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Hayes, Tuesday morning, half-past six.
[June 18, 1765.]

SIR,

I HAVE just received the very great honour of your royal highness's condescending letter, sig-

for me to love my excellent Prince now better than I ever did before, I should certainly do it ; for I have every reason that can induce a generous or a grateful mind, to feel his goodness to me ; but such was his Majesty's situation at that time, that had he absolutely rejected my dismissal, he would have put me in the most disagreeable situation in the world ; and, what was of much higher consequence, he would have greatly distressed his affairs." — *Mitchell MSS.*

⁽¹⁾ In consequence of this letter, Mr. Pitt waited upon the King, on Wednesday the 19th. The result of this audience was, the sending for Lord Temple. On the next day, Mr. Pitt received the following note from his royal highness :—

"Cumberland House, June 20, 1765.

"Mr. Pitt,—Late last night his Majesty ordered me to let you know, that he desired to see you again on Saturday next, at ten in the morning, at the Queen's-house.

"I remain your very affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM."

On Saturday, Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had a joint audience of his Majesty ; when the following conditions were proposed to them ;—that Mr. Stuart Mackenzie should be restored, that Lord Northumberland should be made lord-chamberlain, and that the King's friends should continue in their present situations. With the two first of these conditions Mr. Pitt was disposed to comply, but he required some explanation with regard to the third. Lord Temple expressed his dislike of all the conditions ; and thus the conference closed.

nifying to me his Majesty's pleasure to attend him at the Queen's-house on Wednesday, at ten in the morning. Penetrated with the deepest sense of his Majesty's goodness, I will not fail to be in waiting there at the hour commanded.

Permit me, Sir, to express how much it confounds me to occasion so much trouble to your royal highness.

I am, with the most profound respect,
Your royal highness's most obedient,
and devoted humble servant,
W. PITT.

LORD LYTTTELTON TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, June 29, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT go out of town without expressing to you the great satisfaction I feel in your having shown such a regard to the wishes of the public and desires of the King, as to yield yourself, in this time of difficulty and danger, to the service of the state. How much I grieve that the state will not receive the benefit of this compliance, I need not say to you, who saw how much I wished it, and how essential I thought it to the safety of my country.

Permit me also to return you my most hearty thanks for the very honourable mark of your esteem and friendship, which I am informed by

Lord Temple you had intended to give me, if the change had taken effect. There is no advantage I could draw from any office or rank, that would give me so much pleasure as the owing it to your kind and favourable opinion.

Believe me, in all situations, with the highest veneration and most respectful attachment,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate friend,
and humble servant,

LYTTTELTON.

MR. PITT TO LORD LYTTTELTON.

July 1, 1765. ⁽¹⁾

MY DEAR LORD,

It is with sensible satisfaction, that I receive too favourable a testimony of your Lordship's opinion,

⁽¹⁾ Early in July, the Duke of Cumberland, being again applied to by the King, entered into a negotiation with the Duke of Newcastle, for the formation of a new ministry; which was speedily adjusted. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; General Conway was appointed secretary of state, with the management of the House of Commons, the other secretary being the Duke of Grafton; the Duke of Newcastle was made lord privy seal, Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer, and the Earl of Hertford lord-lieutenant of Ireland. One of the first acts of the new administration was to make Sir Charles Pratt, the chief justice or the Common Pleas, a peer, by the title of Baron Camden. On the 15th of July, Lord Chesterfield thus writes to his son: — "I refer you, for all that has been done, to the Gazette. Many more changes are talked of. There has been pretty clean sweeping already; and I do not remember, in my time, to have seen so much at once, as an entire new board of treasury and

in this crisis of my life, the most difficult and painful, on all accounts, which I have yet experienced. I have now only to pray that Providence may shape out some way to this unhappy country, which may mitigate mischiefs never to be cured.

As company is waiting for me, I will only add, that I esteem myself very fortunate, if, in the course of a transaction, so unhappy in the issue, it has been my lot to do myself the honour of mentioning with justice the name of Lord Lyttelton.

Believe me always, with respectful attachment,
My dear Lord,

Your affectionate friend,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

two new secretaries, *cum multis aliis, &c.* Here is a new political arch built; but of materials of so different a nature, and without a key-stone, that it does not, in my opinion, indicate either strength or duration. It will certainly require repairs, and a key-stone next winter; and that key-stone will and must necessarily be Mr. Pitt. It is true, he might have been that key-stone now, and would have accepted, but not without Lord Temple's consent; and Lord Temple positively refused. There was evidently some trick in this; but what, is past my conjecturing. *Darus sum, non Œdipus.*" And again, on the 17th of August, "There must be more changes, before a ministry can be settled. Were I to conjecture, I should say, that the whole will centre, before it is long, in Mr. Pitt and Co.; the present being an heterogeneous jumble of youth and caducity, which cannot be efficient. Charles Townshend calls it a lutestring ministry, fit only for the summer."

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Thursday, 5 o'clock. [July 25, 1765.]

DEAR SIR,

I MUCH wish for an opportunity of paying my compliments to you, and expressing my desire of retaining your friendship ; which, I assure you, I have ever valued as the first honour of my life.

I am more particularly anxious to have half an hour's conversation with you when convenient, as I think it may be essential to us all ; and, indeed, it is very necessary for the feelings of him who is, with the truest regard, esteem, and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Friday, 2 o'clock. [July 26, 1765.]

DEAR SIR,

AFTER what passed in our conversation last night, I think it right to acquaint you, that the

(1) Augustus Henry Fitzroy, third Duke of Grafton. He was born in 1735 ; appointed a lord of the bed-chamber to George the Third, then Prince of Wales, in 1756 ; and succeeded to the dukedom, on the death of his grandfather, in 1757. In the July of 1765, his grace entered into office as secretary of state ; which situation he resigned in May 1766. From the following August until January 1770, he was first lord of the treasury ; and from June 1771 until November 1775, lord privy seal. He died in 1811.

arrangement I expected has not taken place. On the contrary, twenty-four hours are desired by his Majesty to consider on the advice I had humbly submitted to him. On the whole, I must in justice say, that there is a strong appearance of a *return* of a favourable disposition in the royal mind. I have the honour to be, with the most unfeigned esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

GRAFTON.

P. S.—I was asked, whether I had seen you, and answered that I had, but that what had passed on public points more particularly regarded myself, and had passed in a friendly confidence, improper to be revealed on that account.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Bond Street, August 21, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received the inclosed letter from a particular friend of mine, who is a neighbour of Mr. George Grenville's in Buckinghamshire. If he has the honour to be known to you, I am confident that he is not without your good opinion. You will see, by the language Mr. Hopkins held, that he was never told that you *approved* the present set of ministers; but the reporting this to the other extreme, and even a conversation between

you and me on the subject at Hayes, laid down as the inculcating proof, I own hurts me in more than one light ; and in none so strongly as, that I should be construed to have engaged in any political system, where you would have endeavoured to have kept me back.

What passed between us I never thought myself at liberty to reveal, except that part which I understood I was to mention by your desire ; the substance of which was not so flattering to us as to have made me eager to divulge it, unless I had thought that, by concealing it, I should not act consistently with that sincerity and friendship which you have ever shown me.

To this intent I declared (though much against my inclination), that you had not allowed me even to name that post that was to be entrusted to myself ; and that you would have it understood and *known*, that the whole was so far from being approved by you, that you would disavow the knowledge even of the *dramatis personæ* ; that though you might have wished to see Admiral Saunders and Keppel at their Board, the difference was great between saying so much to them, and the recommending to the Duke of Grafton a post to which it was probable he might be nominated on the occasion. Such were the words I repeated, and thought myself bound to do, since it was your express desire : but these were not sufficient to furnish arguments for Mr. George Grenville. That gentleman must, therefore, have been told, by some

newsmonger or other, that which never passed between us at Hayes.

The experience of every day proves to me, that the points on which you had the most apprehensions, and which cannot properly be mentioned in a letter, are less and less to be feared; and I only wish for that hour in which I could resign the seals, and stand forth the loudest supporter of the measures of *you*, my successor.

On foreign points I must, from my situation, be silent, whatever may be my desire to the contrary. I must say (reasoning on the conversation we had on the subject), the almost only internal one, which the recess of parliament has allowed to bring to light, was done in the very manner and form you could yourself have wished *that particular* point. Words of general disapprobation, before any other measures appear, can never come from one who thinks so candidly and so justly as I have always found that you did. I must, therefore, conclude that they were brought to Mr. Grenville from some improper quarter, and must earnestly beg to submit to you, whether it should not be explained, for my sake, to Mr. Grenville, particularly as he brings me so personally into it. The mode of doing this, you will best judge.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of the most unfeigned esteem and respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

MR. PITT TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Burton Pynsent, August 24, 1765.

MY LORD,

I AM extremely sorry that a report, from hand to hand, of discourse easily enough mistaken in the extent of it, attributed to Mr. George Grenville, and in which I am so much mixed, should have given a moment's uneasiness to your Grace, and occasioned you the trouble of the letter with which I am honoured, and to which your Grace will easily believe I am impatient to return an answer.

Upon a matter of this nature, it is fit to be explicit. I assure your Grace, then, that I have seen Mr. George Grenville but once since the present ministry took effect, and then in the presence of others; that I never said to him, nor to any man living, that I blamed, or in the least disapproved, either the ministers or any individual for going into the King's service, nor that I ever wished to keep the Duke of Grafton from taking the seals.

Let me now, my Lord, be as explicit in declaring what I have said, with regard to rumours industriously propagated, and which I could not acquiesce in; namely, that the present ministry was formed by my advice and approbation. To men under such impressions I have constantly averred, that this ministry was not formed by my advice, but by the counsel of others; that, from experience of dif-

ferent ways of thinking and of acting, Claremont⁽¹⁾ could not be to me an object of confidence or expectation of a solid system for the public good, according to my notions of it ; and as the authority I most wished to refer myself to, upon this subject, I have appealed to the conversation I had the honour to hold with the Duke of Grafton at Hayea. The exact and candid manner in which your Grace has given yourself the trouble to repeat the substance of that conversation, is the best proof I knew where I might securely appeal. I trust your Grace will think I am sufficiently direct upon a subject, where it would be very painful to me to be misunderstood, and especially to be conceived by any man, to entertain any sentiments of the Duke of Grafton, but those of sincere respect, esteem, and friendship.

After this state of the affair, I must submit to your Grace's judgment, how far any explanation from me to Mr. Grenville would be necessary, or indeed proper, considering how often misapprehension, without intention, cannot but have had a share in this business ; and especially that names are not mentioned in the intelligence.

Give me leave now, my dear Lord, to express how truly I feel the honour you do me in the continuation of your Grace's favourable sentiments and flattering wishes, upon the subject of one, who sees his zeal for the King and for the public rendered every hour more and more unavailing ;

(¹) The Duke of Newcastle.

who despairs of being enabled to do any essential good, and would indeed be grieved to do hurt, as far as his lights carry him. Accept then, my Lord, the sincere wishes of a Somersetshire by-stander, that the course of affairs may be so fortunate and happy in your hands, as to make your Grace as full of ardour for business, as I am of disrelish for the political scene, for which I am on so many accounts so very unfit.

I have the honour to be, with the truest sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Grace's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. PITT.

Inclosed I return Mr. Hopkins's letter to your Grace.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Bond Street, September 16, 1765, at night.

DEAR SIR,

As I received the inclosed from Mr. Fraser, one of my secretaries, who had it from the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with an express desire that it might be conveyed to you by the most secure method, I chose to send it by a messenger, as most suitable to the Prince who sent it, as well as to the person to whom it is directed.

Give me leave only to add, that I have made no

other use of the letter I was honoured with from you last, but to say to Mr. Hopkins, that he might declare *from me*, that there must be necessarily some misrepresentation of what had really passed between us at Hayes. I flatter myself that you will not disapprove of this step ; which, considering the accusation against me, is but slight. I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of the most perfect esteem and respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

GRAFTON.

PRINCE CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

Londres, ce 13^e Septembre, 1765.

MONSIEUR,

Je ne puis me dispenser de vous marquer notre arrivée en Angleterre ; qui me fait un plaisir d'autant plus sensible, que je me flatte de jouir, durant ce séjour d'avantage qu'au dernier, de la satisfaction de vous voir, et de vous dire combien nous prenons d'intérêt à tout ce qui vous touche ; que la nation Anglaise n'est pas la seule qui vous rend justice et qui vous admire, mais que le reste de l'Europe observe vos démarches depuis que vous avez quitté le ministère, avec ce même intérêt qu'elle le faisoit lors que vous décidiez du sort des états : ce qui prouve, que le vrai grand homme ne dépend jamais des événemens.

Il ne vous sera pas difficile, Monsieur, de juger quelles sont nos vœux quant à vous, dans la situation présente des affaires de ce pays-ci. Je saiserai le premier instant qui vous rapprochera de Londres, pour vous rendre mes devoirs. Attendant ce moment avec l'empressement le plus vif, je ne désire rien d'avantage que de vous prouver, que c'est avec l'estime et la considération la plus distinguée, que j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre, &c.

CHARLES,

PRINCE HÉRÉDITAIRE DE BRUNSWIC.

La Princesse, mon épouse, me charge de ses complimens pour vous.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.⁽¹⁾

Burton Pynsent, September 15, 1765.

DEAR NUTHALL,

ENCLOSED I trouble you with a letter for Count Algarotti⁽²⁾, which I beg the favour of you to put

(¹) In the preceding July, Mr. Nuthall was appointed solicitor of the Treasury, by Lord Rockingham. In announcing the appointment to Mr. Pitt, he says, "I am very sensible, however widely removed you are at present from the great scene of action, that not my merits, but the friendship with which you have honoured me, has produced to me this promotion, and therefore I look up to you, as I always have done and always will do, as my great benefactor and patron; begging leave to add this assurance, that I shall be more ready to resign this office, than I was to accept it, whenever I shall see it necessary, for my support in it, to do any thing that I can even surmise to be repugnant to your generous and constitutional principles."

(²) Count Bonomo Algarotti, brother and executor of Francesco. See p. 291.

into Signor Zuccarelli's⁽¹⁾ own hand, desiring him, with a compliment from me, to forward it, under a proper direction, to Count Algarotti, and recommend particular care to him. I had written this letter to the Count, before I had received Zuccarelli's request on that head; which he might as well have spared, after leaving me in ignorance, for several months, that he was charged with a letter from the Count to me.

So much for Italy. As to this place, I have nothing to boast of the present state of the inhabitants. Lady Chatham has been attacked with a feverish complaint, but is, thank God, better. My accident⁽²⁾ is attended with some return of gout, but not violent. I am, however, from the bruise, extremely lame, and reduced back again to the crutches I had got rid of. I make a shift, notwithstanding, to enjoy the fine weather, and a pleasing scene about me⁽³⁾, in a one-horse chair,

(1) On the arrival of Signor Zuccarelli in England, he was entrusted, by the executors of Algarotti, to deliver to Mr. Pitt an antique cameo of the head of Hercules, &c., which the count had bequeathed to him; but being precluded, by Mr. Pitt's severe illness, from having a personal interview, he was desirous that a letter should be written to the executors, acknowledging the receipt of the bequest. This distinguished landscape painter, who was born at Florence in 1710, met with considerable encouragement in England and became a member of the Royal Academy. He afterwards returned with a competency to his native city, and died there in 1788.

(2) A fall from his horse.

(3) Of Burton-Pynsent, and the surrounding scenery, Collinson, in his *History of Somerset*, published in 1791, gives the following description: — "The north side of the parish of

and trust I shall soon be able to try my luck again upon a horse.

As for the political scene, far removed from my corporeal eye, it is too much involved in darkness as yet, for the mental eye to pretend to pry into it⁽¹⁾;

Curry-Rivel is a bold ridge of hills, which rises, with a steep ascent, four hundred feet from West-Sedgmoor; the slope being finely waved, indented, and clothed with beautiful hanging woods: these woods alternately swell into bold projections, and recede into fine hollows, forming a grand profile, when viewed from the east or west. Within a cove, open to Sedgmoor, on the very top of this ridge, is Burton-Pynsent. The house is a large, irregular building, erected at different periods, and composed of various materials. The apartments are elegant, and contain some excellent pictures. The principal front is to the north, commanding a rich and very extensive prospect of all the flat country between Mendip and the Quantock hills, the channel, and Welch mountains. Immediately under the eye is a beautiful moor, level as a bowling-green, and covered with the finest verdure, to the extent of nearly six miles in length, and one to three miles in width, skirted thick with villages. From this point more than thirty churches may be distinctly seen. On the north-west point, at the distance of about two furlongs from the house, is a fine column of white stone, one hundred and forty feet high, built on a smooth green projecting knoll, with a steep declivity of more than three hundred feet down to the edge of the moor. This pillar was erected by the Earl of Chatham, to the memory of Sir William Pynsent. On one side of the pedestal, is the following inscription:—

‘Sacred to the Memory of Sir William Pynsent.
Hoc saltem fungar inani munere.’

“The south or back front of the house, looks into a park, perfectly level, finely wooded with large elm and other trees, and commanding a very fine view to the south, south-east, and south-west, bounded by that high ridge of land, which stretching from pleasure-grounds on the brow of the hill are elegantly disposed, and admit of great variety.”

(1) “I never remember in all my time,” says Lord Chesterfield, writing in this month to his son, “to have seen so proble-

nor am I in the least curious concerning it. I desire you will assure Mr. Thomas Walpole of my sincere and constant regard, and that if any chance should ever bring him westward, I shall be proud and happy to have the honour of seeing him.

I am always, with true esteem, dear Nuthall,

Very faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE HON. THOMAS WALPOLE.⁽¹⁾

November 5, 1765.

MY DEAR SIR,

ABOUT to part with a place, endeared to me by many circumstances, I assure you I have a real pleasure, that it is to pass into your hands, and am not a little proud, that its future master has the goodness to allow me to think, that he will not like it the less, for the sake of its old possessor.
* * * * I have now troubled you enough, my dear Sir, upon my small private concerns:

matical a state of affairs; and a man would be much puzzled which side to bet on. If Mr. Pitt does not come in to the assistance of the ministers, they will have much to do to stand their ground. Charles Townshend will play booty; and whom else have they? Nobody but Conway; who has only good sense, but not the necessary talents nor experience, '*Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.*'"

(¹) Second son of Horatio, first Lord Walpole of Wolterton. He was an eminent merchant and banker in London, in partnership with Sir Joshua Vanneck, whose daughter he married. He sat in various parliaments; and died in 1803.

upon public and great things (if great any longer belongs to the affairs of so distracted a country), what remains for one so strangely circumstanced as I am, to say to a friend? You fully know how I was frustrated in my views for the public good; and the repetition of any part of so unaccountable a story could have neither utility nor entertainment. All I can say is this, that I move in the sphere only of measures. Quarrels at court, or family reconciliations, shall never vary my fixed judgment of things. Those who, with me, have stood by the cause of liberty and the national honour, upon true Revolution-principles, will never find me against them, till they fall off, and do not act up to those principles.

This letter will probably find you amidst additional perplexities of court and city, from the late melancholy but long foreseen event.⁽¹⁾ Many, no doubt, are the speculations upon the consequences of it; but I am too far off from the scene, and you are too near to it, and too clearsighted, for me to hazard any of mine.

I propose going to Bath in about a week; for which place I was on my way last Saturday, when I was stopped by the melancholy news of the

(1) The death of the Duke of Cumberland. On the 31st of October, having appointed to assist that evening at a council, the Duke came to town from Windsor, and went to court. At eight in the evening, being then at his house in Upper Grosvenor-street, just as the Duke of Newcastle and the Lord Chancellor came to the council, he was suddenly seized with a shivering fit; upon which, he said to the Earl of Albemarle, "'tis all over," and sank lifeless into his Lordship's arms. He was privately interred, but with military honours, in Westminster Abbey.

event, which broke the hereditary Prince's journey thither. Wherever I am, I beg you will be assured, that you have there a very sincere friend and servant, who does justice to the steady spirit with which you stand for a shaken country, feels all the value of the friendship with which you honour him, and has a particular satisfaction in assuring you, with how true esteem and perfect consideration I am always, my dear Sir, &c.,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, Sunday, one o'clock,
November 17, 1765.

My dearest love knows my diary as far as Wells. It continued quite prosperous as far as Bath, where I arrived in the face of day. I passed a much better night for my fatigue, and I am better this morning; foot much swelled, hand less weak, and easier. Thank the Almighty, that I am able to send you such an account as your kind thoughts will repose on with comfort.

Brother James much better, but shattered and pale enough from having dispersed the gout, by bathing. I have the pleasure to tell you, that his mind is just in the reasonable posture that I could wish. Would to Heaven, he could impart some of his right spirit somewhere else! The great of this world seem not to have forgotten the Somersetshire hermit, if the mighty names of Newcastle,

Norfolk, Bedford, Rockingham &c., are flattering to the pride of man. I was interrupted here by a kind visit from Mr. Collibee, the mayor; a less sounding name, but an honest and steady friend. How I shall sustain these honours, I know not; but while I am relating them to my love, the spirits flow, and the hand obeys. I must however check my own career, and despatch the servant before another interruption. Heaven bless and protect the noble mother and the promising little flock! For this time, adieu, and think with some comfortable hope of the health of

Your ever loving husband,
W. PITT.⁽¹⁾

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, Monday night, November 18, 1765.

THANK Heaven that I am able to hold a pen, and tell my love the feats I have this day performed. I have visited the fair down of Claverton, with all its piny forests, and have drunk one glass of water as I returned, sitting in my coach of state, in Stall-

(¹) In her reply to this letter, written on the same evening, from Burton Pynsent, Lady Chatham says:—"Nine o'clock come, the duties of our Sunday evening done, and the little ones retired to bed, I musing by the fire, comes in my dearest love's letter. What a charm did it immediately spread over my whole mind, and with what delight and gratitude to the Almighty did I read that my prayers had been answered! The honours paid to the dear Hermit are natural. Superstition leads a few, and true devotion the other part."

street. Hitherto all goes prosperously with my bodily concerns; so that I have no pain worth mentioning, but that of being separated from my kind love, and not seeing five little faces, which form round her a group, which sums all delight — all which my heart can taste.

It is, indeed, a pleasure to think that I am writing what will give my dearest life pleasure, and help to make the hours of separation more easy and comfortable. It rains civilities upon me here, from various quarters; and, to my own sense of things, only renders my situation more unaccountable, not to say ridiculous. But no more of this, —

“Who sees not Providence all kind and wise,
Alike in what it grants, and what denies!”

The Hoods are pretty well. The Captain and Mr. James Grenville, as also Mr. Mayor, are all that I have opened my doors to. Many I find are enough disposed to take a view of me; whether from mere curiosity to see a strange new creature, viz., a leader whom nobody follows, or any other reason why, I do not conjecture. ⁽¹⁾ I must now, my life, draw to a conclusion; for my hand ad-

⁽¹⁾ “I do not wonder,” writes Lady Chatham, in answer, “at the shower of civilities that continually rains upon you. All are proud of their acquaintance with Virtue, and eager to solicit the being acknowledged; but to follow her is above their view, unless they could find Interest to guide them — who but seldom travels that path. So much for the leader without followers, who must be flattered something, I think, with the tribute he receives; and to know that whenever it may please Providence to order that he should be the dispenser of the goods of this world, all, in the general sense, would march after his banner.”

monishes me not to be too bold. Kisses upon
kisses to the little children.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

THE HON. THOMAS WALPOLE TO MR. NUTHALL.

Paris, November 21, 1765.

DEAR NUTHALL,

THE day I left London I should have received a letter from the great man, which reached me here, and whereof you have inclosed a copy ⁽¹⁾, and my answer, to be forwarded to him ; which I hope you will like : at all events, it must go, such as it is.

You may imagine how happy I am with every part of so kind and honourable a testimony of my conduct, and how grieved at finding myself deprived by this journey of making the speediest and most effectual use of what I consider as a public declaration of his disposition. I have communicated that particular paragraph to Lord Rockingham, and advised him to talk immediately to Lord Camden upon it ; and I am impatient to know, whether the understanding of the ministry continues to be clouded as I left it. With regard to Hayes, I have agreed to his proposal, and we are both in your hands — and I am satisfied.

I am, dear Nuthall,

Your most affectionate servant,

THOMAS WALPOLE.

(¹) See p. 328.

THE HON. THOMAS WALPOLE TO MR. PITT.

Paris, November 21, 1765.

SIR,

I RECEIVED here the letter you honoured me with the 5th instant. * * * I have nearly observed the situation of persons in high office, whose private characters deserve the fullest esteem, and lamented to see them trusting to appearances, mistrusting even their own consciousness of being deceived ; for want of all practice and experience misled by others, who are content to see their country sinking, if they hold their offices to the last, and, daring neither to go forwards nor backwards, stand like men staggering in the dark, till the building falls about their ears. They are very sensible of the breach which has lately happened, as well as of the only means to strengthen and support the fabric ; and yet I had the misfortune to see, before I left England, that, with the best dispositions, I know not by what fatality, they were not in the right way of procuring that assistance. Therefore I was the less concerned about my journey.

I have been very differently affected, since you condescended to give me some intimation of your thoughts on this melancholy subject ; and you will forgive me, Sir, if I could not refrain even at this distance endeavouring to make them useful. I considered it as a duty towards those who deserve compassion, towards you, and above all towards my

country, that the only probable means of extricating it from the difficulties it labours under should not be concealed.

In the meanwhile, there appears good reason to think our rivals abroad are not tremendous. The confusion in every department is beyond credibility, and much time and better abilities will be necessary, before they can give any disturbance to Europe. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,
THOMAS WALPOLE.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, Sunday night, November 24, 1765.

WHAT comfort, my dearest life, to be able to send you, with my own hand, better tidings of my gout! I have been taken up to-day, and I write, sitting in my great chair by my friends, like an alderman of Bath. My importance in my own eyes does not stop here; for they have this morning beheld by my bed-side the Duke of Bedford, sitting like any brother alderman, just descended from the curule chair of mayoralty, talking very placidly (and, to be serious, very politely) of houses in the Circus, pleasant airings, Somersetshire prospects, &c.; fitting discourse for such *emeriti*, as we are.

How can I thank you for your kind solitudes,

and for the joy and comfort of your letter, which tells me that you and the dear children are well!

I am out of pain ; but, not to talk myself into pain again, I will bid good night. Tenderest blessings from papa to all the pretty, affectionate inquirers.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, Thursday night,
[November 28, 1765.]

To convey by a sure hand to my dearest life a full and true account of the state of our person, I dispatch the slow but safe William ; who will, I trust, bring me back on Saturday night as good a report at least of Burton Pynsent as he carries of the health of Bath. I have been airing in the coach to-day, for the second time, nearly three hours, and came home untired ; wanting nothing but dinner, and the sight of my love and of my children. I can stand with the help of crutches, and hope soon to discard one of them. Who knows, in time, what may become of his companion ? My left hand holds a fork at dinner with some *gentillesse*, and my right holds, as you see, a pen, — inferior to that of few writing-masters, excepting always those two famous scribes, Hester and John.

Thus stands the gout, in the present moment :
it is indeed a changeable world, and the morrow oft
disappoints the prospect of the eve ; but as Milton
says, who says divinely in all,

“Where equal scales do arbitrate the event,
My mind inclines to hope rather than fear.”

I am full of the beauties of our scenes around
here.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Rochester, November 30, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

THIS is the first quiet moment I have been able
to embrace, since the return of Lord Shelburne's
express, which found me canvassing this city. ⁽¹⁾
Before his lordship's letter reached me, a crisis
arose, that made determination necessary ; in con-
sequence, I had embarked, or your opinion should
have been in this, as it will be in every instance,
to me a law ; but, once engaged, you would, I am
sure, be the last man to advise desertion of friends,
who most handsomely invited, and have since so
honourably supported me, as to give the fairest
prospect of success.

Sir Charles Saunders, Admiral Keppel, and Sir

⁽¹⁾ A vacancy for Rochester had occurred, by the death of
Lord Parker. The result of the election was unfavourable to
Mr. Calcraft ; but he was returned for that city, in May, 1768.

William Meredith have been sitting three days in this city, as a board, to do any Admiralty favour that could procure a vote, as well as canvass for Mr. Cooper ⁽¹⁾, my opponent. My lord president of the council ⁽²⁾ has been here also; but great as these Lords are, they have left us much disappointed; the hearts of the people resisting their efforts, and continuing warm in our cause.

I hope to have a good account of your health; and shall always remain, with unalterable respect and attachment,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and
faithful humble servant

J. CALCRAFT.

GEORGE COOKE, ESQ.⁽³⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Lincoln's-inn Fields, December 5, 1765.

SIR,

THE Duke of Newcastle sent to me this morning, and when I came to him, told me he had a message to deliver me from the present administration;

⁽¹⁾ Mr. (afterwards Sir) Grey Cooper, secretary to the treasury; which office he held during the subsequent administrations of the Duke of Grafton and Lord North. In 1783, he was made a lord of the treasury, and in 1796, a privy councillor. He died in 1801.

⁽²⁾ The Earl of Winchelsea.

⁽³⁾ At this time member for Middlesex, and chief prothonotary in the court of common pleas; and on Mr. Pitt's return to office, in the following July, appointed joint-paymaster-general. He died in 1768.

namely, the Duke of Grafton, Lord Rockingham, Mr. Conway, and Lord Egmont; the purport of which was to desire, that I would second the address at the meeting of parliament, Lord George Cavendish being intended for the mover of it; that having some acquaintance with me, he had taken this affair on himself to mention it. This induced me to inquire a little, what those in power intended towards answering the expectations of the people: — “In the West India affairs, a hearty resolve to determine the question about the stamp act ⁽¹⁾ in favour of the West Indies, and exactly

⁽¹⁾ In the month of March 1764, the ministry had deemed it necessary to contemplate America as a source of future revenue, and a series of resolutions was brought into the House of Commons, for regulating the trade, and imposing duties on certain articles of American commerce. These resolutions formed the basis of a bill, which speedily passed through both houses, and received the royal assent on the 5th of April. At the time when the resolutions upon which this act was founded were brought forward in the House of Commons, Mr. Grenville also moved, “that towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations.” While the yell of Indian carnage was yet in their ears, and the smoke of their ruined habitations before their eyes, the rage and despair of the Americans were further inflamed by the arrival of the British act of parliament for taxing them. Perceiving in it the first appearance of a general and extensive plan of taxation, they determined not to wait for the gradual exposure of the plan to combat it by parts, but to strike at once at the basis, by denying the right of the mother-country to impose taxes on the colonies; which, not being represented in parliament, did neither really nor virtually consent to the imposition. Petitions to the King, and memorials to parliament against the measure, were transmitted to England

conformable to your ideas of it ; and to pay a proper and just attention in matters relative to general warrants," &c. I told his Grace, that if the seconding

by several of the principal assemblies, and the clamour and indignation against it were vehement. But Mr. Grenville was not thereby deterred from persevering in his system. In the February of this year, fifty-five resolutions of the committee of ways and means were agreed to by the House of Commons, and afterwards incorporated into an act of parliament, for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the colonies in America, as were payable in England ; which act passed both Houses with little opposition, except from General Conway and Colonel Barré ; Mr. Pitt being at this time confined to his bed with indisposition, and totally unable to attend. "As to the fact of a strenuous opposition to the stamp act," says Mr. Burke, in his celebrated speech on American taxation, "I sat in your gallery when it was under consideration. Far from any thing inflammatory, I never heard a more languid debate in this house : no more than two or three gentlemen, as I remember, spoke against the act, and that with great reserve and remarkable temper. There was but one division in the whole progress of this bill ; and the minority did not reach to more than thirty or forty. In the House of Lords, I do not recollect that there was any debate or division at all. I am sure there was no protest. In fact, the affair passed with so very, very little noise, that in town they scarcely knew the nature of what you were doing."

When intelligence reached New York, that this act had received the royal assent, the feeling of indignation was universal and excessive. The act was reprinted with a death's-head affixed, instead of the royal arms, and hawked in the streets, under the title of "England's folly and America's ruin ;" the guns at Philadelphia were spiked ; at Boston, the colours of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, and the church bells were muffled, and tolled a funeral knell. Associations were formed in all parts of America, for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and against the use of those imported from Great Britain. To preclude the use of stamps, proceedings in the courts of justice were suspended. In the assembly of Virginia,

such address was only a matter of form, I thought it would come better from a younger man, and of more distinction, than myself; that however, with his Grace's permission, I would consider of it, and would give my answer on Wednesday. His Grace concluded with saying, that the motive for desiring this of me, was to have the sanction of an independent man at their setting out.

Now Sir, trifling as this point is in general, yet, in its consequence, it is very material to me; and therefore you will forgive my taking this advantage of the good-will you have expressed towards me, to beg your opinion, *what is right to do*. Firmly convinced of your abilities and integrity, I look up to you for the rule and conduct of my political life. Were you at the head of affairs, the pride of my heart would be to be known and distinguished as your devoted friend. On the other hand, as the ministry are now composed

which happened to be then sitting, the subject was eagerly introduced; and one of its members, Patrick Henry*, after declaiming against the measures of the present reign, exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Oliver Cromwell, and George the Third his ——." Upon which there was a cry of "treason!" and the speaker called him to order. In August, the storm burst with violence. Private houses and public offices were pillaged; and the proceedings were so alarming, as to occasion the resignation of those who were appointed to distribute the stamps. Such was the intelligence which reached England, a few days previous to the meeting of parliament.

* Patrick Henry, of Virginia, was a leading member of the American congress. He died in 1797. Lord Byron styles him,

—— "the forest-born Demosthenes,
Whose thunder shook the Philip of the seas."

I do not wish to take any part that has the appearance of *connection*, where you are not *connected*.

Pray, Sir, give me one line of advice ; I have not a wish of my own, and could very readily have given my negative, but chose first to communicate this to you, for whom I have long and ever shall retain the most perfect esteem ; who am

Your most faithful and

most obliged humble servant,

GEORGE COOKE.

I hope for the honour of an answer by the return of the post.

MR. PITT TO GEORGE COOKE, ESQ.

Bath, December 7, 1765.

MY DEAR SIR,

TRULY sensible of the many proofs of your kind friendship, I will venture to do, what I generally wish to avoid even when asked, that is, obey your commands in offering my advice to you upon the matters you propose. I confess it appears to me, that nothing would be less suited to your situation, or your opinions of men, than to be held out to the world as connected with the Duke of Newcastle; who, in my poor judgment, will render impossible any solid system for the settlement of this distracted country, as long as his Grace's influence predominates. What his Grace proposes to you is

nothing but a little artifice, to hold out to the public an appearance of connection *where* he knows he has none, and *I know* he never shall have any. When his Grace does me the honour to say that any thing is, "exactly conformable to *my ideas*," he is pleased to use the name of a man, who has never communicated his ideas to the Duke of Newcastle upon the present state of affairs; and who is finally resolved never to be in confidence or concert again with his Grace. Whenever *my ideas*, in their true and *exact* dimensions, reach the public, I shall lay them before the world myself.

In the mean time, be assured, my dear Sir, that I do not form the least wish to withhold you, or any friend, from taking any step your own judgment or inclination may lead to. I only mean, being asked my thoughts, to say frankly, that I shall never depart from the principles, and system of measures, in which I have been so often sacrificed by the Duke of Newcastle, nor accede to his Grace's ministry, because he, occasionally, is pleased to adopt, in words, and to mar in effect, any parts of that system, which he has first subverted. My paper grows full, and a folio would not be too large to tell you with what affectionate esteem,

I am ever, dear Sir,

most faithfully yours,

WILLIAM PITT.

GEORGE COOKE, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Lincoln's-inn Fields, December 10, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

How good you are ! A thousand and a thousand thanks for your kind favour of the 7th instant. I have no wish for a connection with any one but yourself, and can boast of little merit, except the being truly sensible of yours. No one living knows that I wrote to you on the subject : my conduct will best express my gratitude. I did not sufficiently explain myself, when I made use of the expression, "*exactly* conformable to your ideas." His Grace, in the conference I had with him, never once mentioned your name, or alluded to your sentiments ; and I made use of those words, in my letter to you, to show you, that he thought of the American affairs, with respect to the stamp duty, in the same light that you considered them, when I had the honour of some conversation with you at Burton Pynsent on that subject. I hope it is unnecessary to add, that I never make use of your name in vain or idle talk, much less never repeat any discourse you are so good as to oblige me with.

I shall rejoice to hear of your health being entirely restored, and that Lady Chatham and your charming little family are quite well ; who am, with unalterable esteem and the sincerest regard, dear Sir, your most faithful and

Most obliged humble servant,

GEORGE COOKE.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Bath, December 10, 1765.

DEAR NUTHALL,

* * *. BUT enough of low arts in low men! What, my dear Nuthall, can I have to do in or near the political world? I was frustrated and disabled from doing any material good last June. The world now is fallen into the Duke of Newcastle's hands; the country is undone; and I am of opinion, that no solid system for giving it but a chance for any tolerable degree of safety can be possible under his Grace's auspices, and where his influence colours and warps the whole.

I am much obliged to you for your kind solitudes for a health certainly of no use but to the owner. Gout has hitherto not been so unmerciful as it is wont; but I fear it has not quitted scores with me for the winter. I am much better at present; crawl to the pump, and drink water with success. When I shall crawl to London I cannot yet fix. I would willingly be there for one fortnight, if able; and, after that, wish never to see again a scene of destruction and ruin, laid by faction, before the ashes of the late King were cold (I mean by the old servants of the Crown combining with new influences to subvert the then system); and where the same *experienced hand* now moulds and directs the political machine; with what *allies* will be seen. There are in the ministry—and you can guess them, without sorcery—some whose per-

sons and good intentions I truly esteem, and whose situation I pity. Believe me always, with truth and affection,

Yours, &c.,

W. PITT.

PRINCE CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

Londres, ce 11^e Decembre, 1765.

MONSIEUR,

JE suis bien fâché que des raisons dictées par la prudence m'obligent à me priver de l'avantage de vous rendre mes devoirs à Bath, selon mes desirs ; mais vous savez, Monsieur, qu'il ne suffit pas de ne point se mêler d'aucune affaire, qu'il faut encore plus soigneusement en éviter les apparences. Voilà franchement les seuls motifs qui me forcent à remettre jusqu'à votre arrivée en ville, le plaisir de vous entretenir sur différentes matières continentales, et à demander votre volonté et vos conseils sur des objets à moi personnels.

Comme je crains beaucoup, après tout ce que nous avons vu, l'instabilité des systèmes politiques de ce païs, vous sentez bien que sans votre avis je n'oserois m'ouvrir sur rien. J'attends, avec le plus grand empressement des bonnes nouvelles de l'état de votre santé, et le moment de vous assurer de bouche, avec combien d'estime et de haute considération, j'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, &c.

CHARLES DE BRUNSWIC.

MR. PITT TO PRINCE CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Bath, ce 15^e Decembre, 1765.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Tout respectable que soit le motif qui me prive pour un tems de l'honneur tant désiré de me jeter aux pieds de V. A. S., je ne puis que déplorer l'effet, en admirant la haute prudence qui a dicté mon infortune. La bonté infinie de V. A. S. en daignant s'intéresser à mon santé me comble de gloire, et me prescrit, en même temps, d'en dire un mot.

Je suis, Monseigneur, à poursuivre les eaux avec succès, et je commence à reprendre des forces ; de sorte que, sans un rechute, je me flatte de pouvoir faire le voyage de Londres après les vacances. Cependant, touché au point que je le suis de la confiance dont V. A. S. m'honore, et me pénétrant de l'importance et de la délicatesse extrême de ce qu'elle me daigne laisser entrevoir, je ne saurois me dispenser de la prévenir même d'ici, que si j'étois à ses pieds, je ne pourrois que sentir toute la présomption qu'il y auroit à moi d'offrir au Prince le plus clairvoyant des conseils sur ce qui lui est personel ; mais j'aurois très certainement à me reprocher à jamais une témérité dangereuse et impardonable, si, en une conjoncture qui me paroît incompréhensible, je lui hazardois à ce Prince, qui fixe les yeux de l'Europe, un avis, où il s'agit de prévoir la stabilité d'une système politique. S'il en existe un ici, c'est ce que j'ignore parfaite-

ment. Pour celui du feu Roi que j'ai vu renverser, et dont j'ai été la victime : il est avéré qu'il fut d'abord ébranlé par le concours des anciens et principaux ministres du feu Roi même, avec les influences dominant contre my Lord Temple et moi, sur des objets critiques et décisifs. Après cela, il seroit superflu, d'ajouter, qu'elle peut jamais être ma confiance en un ancien ministre de cette description-là.

Parmi ceux qui ne font qu'entrer sur la scène des affaires, j'estime qu'il y auroit de l'injustice à leur refuser de bonnes intentions. Néanmoins, dans le corps du ministère, la voix publique ne nous annonce que désunion et que division de principes, d'inclinations, et d'objets. V. A. S. est à portée de vérifier si ce sont des rumeurs sans fondement ; si les choses ont pris consistance, et qu'elles soient au point que l'esprit de prévention et de cabale aient finalement fait place au zèle pur et éclairé du bien public ; si l'on s'en puisse promettre un procédé net sur un plan suivi et stable.

Ignorant, Monseigneur, tout ceci, je tremblerois de risquer aucun avis. La seule chose que je puis dire de science certaine, et dont je me fais gloire d'être témoin, c'est que le Roi ne veut que le bien, et ne désire que le contentement de ses peuples.

Il me reste, Monseigneur, d'implorer à V. A. S. le pardon de ce qu'une forte passion pour sa gloire, et un éloignement constant pour toute illusion, ne me permettent pas de supprimer. Je suis, &c.

W. PITT.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

London, December 14, 1765.

SIR,

I AM truly rejoiced to hear you are free from pain, and I hope you will be able very soon to undertake a London journey. Indeed, all you say upon public affairs is true ; but it is also true, that besides the experienced leader alluded to in your letter, there is another hand less visible, though not less weighty, in directing and influencing the present council ; I mean a great lord, and yet no lord chancellor.

But for God's sake, Sir, how is all this to end ? Distraction increases every day, and ruin must follow. You, and you only, can withstand and prevent it ; and I am confident, that if you would undertake it *now* before it is too late, every means and every power to make your endeavours effectual would be put into your hands, and every good man will assist you. I wish you were now in or near this city, that I might say a great deal to you, which I dare not commit to writing ; but I flatter myself with the hopes of having this opportunity very soon, and will trouble you no further at present, than with most ardent wishes for your health. I beg my compliments to Lady Chatham ; and am,

Sir, your obedient

and faithful servant,

THOMAS NUTHALL.

GEORGE COOKE, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday evening, 7 o'clock.
[December 17, 1765.]

DEAR SIR,

I AM just returned from the House⁽¹⁾, where there has been a long and unexpected debate on the words of the address, including a good deal of abuse on those who advised his Majesty to speak of what has happened in America, in the gentle terms of *important occurrences*. Lord George Cavendish⁽²⁾ moved the address, and Lord Palmerston⁽³⁾ seconded. Mr. George Grenville then rose, and, after assuring the House how much he disliked any steps to a debate when

(1) During the whole of this very important session, the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was rigidly enforced, and Horace Walpole was unfortunately absent at Paris; so that no report of the debates in either House, with the exception of two or three speeches, has been preserved. From this circumstance, the spirited sketches of what took place, contained in the letters of Mr. Cooke, Mr. George Onslow, and Lord Shelburne to Mr. Pitt, and in those of Mr. Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft acquire additional interest.

(2) Second son of William, third duke of Devonshire, and at this time member for Derbyshire; of which county he was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1766, and which he continued to represent in parliament, until his death in 1794.

(3) Henry Temple, second viscount Palmerston, at this time member for East Loo, and one of the commissioners of trade and plantations. In the following year, he was appointed one of the lords of the admiralty. His lordship was, in the male line, the representative of the antient family of Temple, which has produced so many distinguished characters in the political and literary world, and from which, in the female line, the Duke of Buckingham is descended. He died in 1802, and was succeeded in his title and estates by his son, the present secretary of state for foreign affairs.

gentlemen were absent and could not answer for themselves, entered directly into the argument : first, he would have substituted *rebellion* instead of *occurrences*, and afterwards declining that, would leave out *both words*, and then proposed an amendment to the address longer than himself, which carried marks of resentment, rather than candour.⁽¹⁾ He spoke *en prince*, and told us he should ask, and hope to have an answer, why the parliament was not called sooner together ? why his Majesty was advised to speak with so much lenity of America ? with many other whys. Differing in many things from him, I took the liberty to answer him, in justification of the colonies, and on the cruelty of fixing the name of rebellion on all, because a tumultuous set of people had been riotous.

Mr. Charles Townshend asserted, with vehemence, his approbation of the stamp act, and was for enforcing it: he leant much to Mr. George Grenville's opinion, soothed him, and sat down, — determined to vote *against* his amendment !⁽²⁾ Mr. Elliot the same ; thereby insuring a double protection. Mr.

(1) The following are the words of Mr. Grenville's amendment — “to express our just resentment and indignation at the outrageous tumults and insurrections which have been excited and carried on in North America, and at the resistance given, by open and rebellious force, to the execution of the laws in that part of his Majesty's dominions,” &c.

(2) In reference to the extraordinary vacillation of Mr. Charles Townshend's principles, Lord Chesterfield, in a letter, written at this time to his son, says, — “As to Charles, there was a good ridiculous paragraph in the newspapers, two or three days ago : ‘We hear, that the right honourable Charles Townshend is indisposed, at his house in Oxfordshire, of a pain in his side ; but it is not said in which side.’ ”

Kent reasoned as usual, at random, and Mr. Wedderburn⁽¹⁾ acted like a true Scotchman. Sir Fletcher Norton dwelt much on the legislative authority to tax all the world under our dominion, yet ended with intreating Mr. George Grenville to withdraw his amendment. Beckford rubbed up the late administration, and told them how completely his prophecy was accomplished about America. Lord George Sackville supported the address, but inclined to support the stamp act. Mr. Nicholson Calvert, Colonel Onslow, Mr. Dyson, Mr. Huske, and one or two more, spoke in the debate ; which ended with Mr. George Grenville withdrawing his amendment, and the address passed *nem. con.*

Permit your faithful friend to add his most hearty wish for your appearance at this time. It is the desire and opinion of every independent man ; it is the disposition of the Prince and the people. The good of your country calls ; *it* always has animated you. I know it ever will. The nation has a claim to your abilities, and your integrity will always give a sanction to the exertion of those abilities —

————— “ tandem venias ! —
Nec sinas *Juntos* equitare inultos,
Te duce, Cæsar.”⁽²⁾

(1) Mr. Wedderburn was at this time member for the Scotch boroughs of Rothesay, &c. In 1771, he was appointed solicitor, and in 1778, attorney-general ; in 1780, lord chief justice of the court of common pleas, and advanced to the peerage, by the title of baron Loughborough ; and in 1793, lord chancellor. In 1801, he was created earl of Rosslyn ; and died in 1805.

(2)

————— “ come then ! —
Nor let the Parthian, with unpunish'd pride,
Beyond his bounds, O Cæsar, dare to ride.”

My pen has run farther than my intentions. I beg your excuse. If I should contribute to your amusement my end is answered. I know you will pardon all errors in, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

and devoted humble servant,

GEORGE COOKE.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. PITT.

Hill Street, Saturday night,
December 21, 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE, in common with the public, indulged so much the hope of seeing you in London, sooner or later, that it was not my intention to have troubled you till that should happen, had nothing particular passed. What has, perhaps may not be worth much of your attention ; but as I feel the least mention of your name extremely delicate, I think it most prudent to submit to you the particulars of two or three days past.

It is not my intention to detain you with what regards individuals. Your own experience and intuition supplies you, I am satisfied, with abundant information of that kind. The minutes of the House of Lords, which I have the honour to inclose to you, will inform you of the ground of what has passed in public. My notion of the state

of the House of Lords was this : the Opposition, consisting of the late ministers, showed a great deal of factious ability ; which, as it was not much pulled to pieces by any one, appeared to me to pass for real. The administration seemed to have formed a resolution to avoid debate on that day, and therefore interfered but little. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Dartmouth were, I think, the only two who spoke at all. Lord Temple expressed, in the strongest terms, his affection and his esteem for you ; stating your connection as the honour of his life, and to retain it his object ; and voted with the minority, on the principle of strongly ascertaining the rights of the English parliament over America, without committing himself further.

I should not trouble you with any account of myself, if my conduct had not been since, more the subject of observation than I had reason to apprehend ; though I cannot say it has been in general interpreted differently from what I meant to convey. I certainly was desirous to act with firmness, and without regard to little views, upon those principles which made part of the conversation you honoured me with at Bath. There were other motives, likewise, which incited me very strongly to the part I took. I felt attaching the name of *rebellion* hastily, and *traitors*, to the Americans, and comparing them to the Scots at Derby—which was the language used—dangerous, and perhaps both imprudent and unjust. I could

not help deprecating, as strongly as I could, a motion which seemed to preclude a repeal, before it was considered thoroughly how far it might be necessary; and, without committing myself on what might be fit to be done, I endeavoured to distinguish the real ties by which America might be supposed to hold to this country, in order to obviate objections arising from a thousand false lights thrown out on the subject; acknowledging the power of parliament to be supreme, but referring the expediency of the act to be considered in a commercial view, regard being to be had to the abilities of the Americans to pay this tax, and likewise to the consequences likely to proceed, in any event, from the late violences. The prejudice against the Americans on the whole seemed very great, and no very decided opinion in favour of the ministry; yet, such is the power of even a changeable court influence, that the administration divided eighty to twenty-four.

What has passed in the House of Commons, you will doubtless hear from better hands. I understand there has been a good deal of little debating there, on different things, without much effect, and not followed by any remarkable division. The last was upon the question of adjournment. I had no idea that my conduct in the House of Lords could be remembered beyond the day; but the next day, Lord Rockingham sent Sir Jeffrey Amherst to Colonel Barré, and yesterday sent

Mr. Dunning to Colonel Barré and to me, with a great many flattering expressions, in regard to Tuesday; and in short, what I am almost ashamed to relate, that if I chose to make a part of the present system, he thought he could answer any opening would be made that I could wish, and that Colonel Barré should have rank in the army, or any thing else added to the vice-treasurership, which had been offered him some time since. My answer was very short, and very frank; that, independent of my connection, I was convinced, from my opinion of the state of *the court*, as well as the state of affairs every where, no system could be formed, durable and respectable, if Mr. Pitt could not be prevailed on to direct and head it.

This produced a certain degree of communication on that head, in which Lord Rockingham expressed himself certain of Mr. Pitt's good wishes, and that they were most ready to be disposed of as he pleased; mixed, however, with very great apprehensions, in consequence of second-hand accounts and anecdotes, which I do not think worth troubling Mr. Pitt with, and a great embarrassment as to the manner of application. I did not think it fit to suggest any thing, or to enter further into the matter. They persisted, however, in their application to Colonel Barré; who returned a still more explicit answer, to the same purpose. You will not think I have much merit in this conduct, when I add, that I am astonished at their infatuation

in being persuaded, as they appear to be, of the confidence of the court; notwithstanding a very particular conduct in Lord Bute, and a party constantly pervading it, of Lord Egmont, Lord Chancellor, Charles Townshend, Lord George Sackville, Sir Fletcher Norton, &c., ready at a moment's warning to embrace any system.

'Tis you, Sir, alone, in everybody's opinion, can put an end to this anarchy, if any thing can. I am satisfied your own judgment will best point out the time when you can do it with most effect. You will excuse me, I am sure, when I hazard my thoughts to you, as it depends greatly upon you, whether they become opinions; but, by all I find from some authentic letters from America, nothing can be more serious than its present state, and though it is my private opinion, it would be well for this country to be back where it was a year ago, I even despair of a repeal effecting that; if it is not accompanied with some circumstances of a firm conduct, and some system immediately following such a concession.

But I am detaining you longer than I meant; and have only to request you to put the best interpretation on this intrusion. Lady Shelburne⁽¹⁾, who is always sensible to the notice you have been so good as to take of her, desires to add her respects to mine; which we beg you will be so good as to

(1) In the February of this year, the Earl had married Lady Sophia, daughter of John Carteret, Earl of Granville.

offer to Lady Chatham. I hope the Bath waters continue to prevent a return of the cruel gout.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest consideration and regard, Dear Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE.

[From a rough draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

December —, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD,

I AM honoured with your Lordship's very friendly and confidential letter; the contents of which bear such marks of kind and flattering sentiments on my subject, as I little deserve, or can ever forget. The clear view of the outline of men and things which your Lordship gives me, affords a large field for reflection, and certainly demands no small circumspection, with exact and nice limits in action, where a conjecture too much or too little must qualify every step, wise or weak, salutary or ruinous.

The line your Lordship took the first day in the House of Lords, I should have been proud and happy, could I have been able, to have held pace with in the House of Commons; being under the strongest conviction that, allowing full force to all the striking topics for upholding, in the

present instance, the legislative and executive authority over America, the ruinous side of the dilemma to which we are brought is, the making good by force there, preposterous and infatuated errors in policy here ; and I shall unalterably sustain that opinion.

The openings from Lord Rockingham to your Lordship and Colonel Barré, which you are so good as to impart to me, you will easily believe could not surprise me ; nothing being so natural as for ministers, under the extreme double pressure of affairs all in confusion, and doubtful internal situation, to recur to distinguished abilities for assistance. The further resource to which the very flattering answers made to these openings pointed, is indeed such as, without affectation, I blush to read. Would to God, my dear Lord, that all my vanity, awakened as it may well be by such repeated testimonies, were able to tell me, I could really effect any material public good ! The evils are, I fear, incurable. Faction shakes, and corruption saps the country to its foundations ; nor are the means, such as this wretched condition could admit, so much as opened in the extent, and with an authenticity, sufficient to engage a close and confidential deliberation among common friends, bent on the same great object. To speak plain : until the King is pleased to signify his pleasure to me, that I should again submit my thoughts upon the formation of such a system, both as to the measures and as to the instruments which are to consti-

tute that system, and that in so ample and full an extent as shall leave nothing to the eyes of men equivocal on the outside of it, nor any dark creeping factions, scattering doubts and sowing discords within —

I should not omit, though I am already too tedious, that I have said on proper occasions, that I would continue to attribute to such of the ministers as lately entered on the scene of affairs, *good intentions* and right principles, until by their actions they obliged me to think otherwise; declaring, at the same time, that I can never have confidence in a system, where the Duke of Newcastle has influence. That must cease, as well as *many other things*, before I shall think the ground clear enough to entertain the smallest hope for the public.

Melancholy, indeed, are the accounts your Lordship mentions from America. Allow me still, my dear Lord, to suggest, that allowance must be made for first alarms, as well as that I fear the very air of this mother-country (') breathes too much partial

(') In a letter, written on the next day, to his son, Lord Chesterfield makes the following reflections:—"You have, to be sure, had from the office an account of what the parliament did, or rather did not do, the day of their meeting; and the same point will be the great object at their next meeting: I mean, the affair of our American colonies, relatively to the late imposed Stamp-duty; which our colonists absolutely refuse to pay. The administration are for some indulgence and forbearance to those froward children of their mother-country: the opposition are for taking *vigorous*, as they call them, but I call them violent mea-

resentment against those unhappy men, provoked to madness.

Lady Chatham and I are infinitely honoured by Lady Shelburne's very obliging remembrance. We both join in sincere congratulations on the happy domestic event⁽¹⁾; and offering many respectful compliments, I am, my dear Lord, &c.

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Bath, January 9, 1766.

DEAR NUTHALL,

I HAVE deferred answering the favour of your last letter of the 20th of December, till I could send you some accounts of my motions eastward. I now propose leaving this place, with Lady Chatham and our family, on Saturday or Sunday, and being at Hayes in a few days afterwards, according as health, roads, and accidents permit.

suress; not less than *les dragonades*, and to have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, I never saw a forward child mended by whipping; and I would not have the mother-country become a step-mother. Our trade to America brings in, *communibus annis*, two millions a year; and the Stamp-duty is estimated at but one hundred thousand pounds a year; which I would by no means bring into the stock of the exchequer, at the loss, or even the risk, of a million a year to the national stock."

(1) The birth, on the 6th of the month, of a son and heir.

I am, thank God, at present much better for the waters; and if I could, in so distracted and miserable a state of affairs, have remained here, instead of breathing the air of St. Stephen's chapel, I flatter myself I should have fixed the benefit I have got by Bath. As it is, my resolution is taken; and if I can crawl, or be carried, I will deliver my mind and heart upon *the state of America*.⁽¹⁾ As for some *other events*, I will only say, that the spirit

⁽¹⁾ During the Christmas recess, a meeting of the ministers was held at the house of the Marquis of Rockingham, for the purpose of arranging measures against the opening of the session, and particularly with respect to the late transactions in America. The following is Mr. Adolphus's account of what passed at this meeting, drawn up from private information and minutes of the conference:—"Among the persons present, were the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Egmont, General Conway, Mr. Dowdeswell, the Earl of Dartmouth, and Mr. Yorke. The most effective and dignified advice was, to declare, by an act of parliament, the legislative power of Great Britain over America, and inflict penalties of high treason on those who should impeach that authority. The supremacy of the parent-country being thus ascertained, it was recommended to bring in a bill to explain, alter, and amend the Stamp-act, in such a manner as would render the operation easy, and its provisions unexceptionable. The principal alterations were, that duties should be paid in currency, instead of sterling money, and the merchants relieved, by taking off, or greatly reducing, the stamps on cockets and clearances. But this firm and manly advice did not prevail; the opinions previously delivered by some members of administration were incompatible with such measures; and although Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the Exchequer, produced letters from New York, importing that the money collected from the duty on molasses had been detained in the colony, by the threats and orders of the mob, yet no vigorous measure was resolved on. In fact, nothing was decided, except the terms in which the King's speech should be comprised; and the ministry formed no regular or consistent plan of operation and mutual support."

of *infatuation* and *insanity* has, to be sure, banished all reflection!

I hope to find you in perfect health of body, and (as a mark of my opinion of you) in perfect dejection of mind; for indeed, eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived what we behold in very deed.

I am ever, Dear Nuthall,

Most faithfully yours,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bond Street, 12 o'clock,

[January 15, 1766.]

I AM just out of bed, my dearest life, and, considering the great fatigue, not getting to bed till past four, I am tolerably well—my hand not worse, my country not better.⁽¹⁾ We (number three)

(¹) The two Houses met on the 14th of January. The King in his speech informed them, that “he had lost no time, on the first advice of these disturbances in America, to issue orders to the governors of his provinces, and to the commanders of his forces, for the exertion of all the powers of government, in the suppression of riots and tumults, and in the effectual support of lawful authority.” In the debate on the address, the difference of sentiment which prevailed in the cabinet became apparent, and the contest was not properly between the ministry and the opposition, but between those who favoured and those who disavowed the taxation of America. Mr. Nugent, afterwards Lord Clare, insisted, that the honour and dignity of the kingdom obliged us to compel the enforcement of the stamp-

debated strenuously the rights of America. The resolution passed, for England's right to do what

act, unless the right was acknowledged, and the repeal solicited as a favour. He computed the expense of the troops employed in America, for the defence of the colonies, at ninepence in the pound of our land-tax, while the produce of the Stamp-act would not raise a shilling a head on the inhabitants of America; but a pepper-corn in acknowledgment of the right was, he said, of more value, than millions without it. He expatiated on the extreme ingratitude of the colonies, and charged the ministry with encouraging petitions to parliament, and instructions to members, from trading and manufacturing towns, against the act. Mr. Pitt next addressed the House; and, from the extreme importance of his speech, and the repeated references hereafter made to it, it is here given at length, as taken down by Sir Robert Dean, assisted by the Earl of Charlemont. As Mr. Pitt always commenced in a low tone of voice, and as the House was in a state of agitation at his rising, his introduction was not heard, until he said —

“ I came to town but to-day; I was a stranger to the tenor of his Majesty's speech and the proposed address, until I heard them read in this House. Unconnected and unconsulted, I have not the means of information; I am fearful of offending through mistake, and therefore beg to be indulged with a second reading of the proposed address.” — The address being read, Mr. Pitt went on: — “ He commended the King's speech, approved of the address in answer, as it decided nothing, every gentleman being left at perfect liberty to take such a part concerning America, as he might afterwards see fit. One word only he could not approve of, ‘an *early*,’ is a word that does not belong to the notice the ministry have given to parliament of the troubles in America. In a matter of such importance, the communication ought to have been immediate. I speak not with respect to parties; I stand up in this place single and unconnected. As to the late ministry” turning himself to Mr. Grenville, who sat within one of him, “ every capital measure they have taken has been entirely wrong.

“ As to the present gentlemen, to those at least whom I have in my eye (looking at the bench where General Conway sat with the lords of the treasury), I have no objection; I have never been made a sacrifice by any of them. Their characters are fair; and I am always glad, when men of fair character engage in his Majesty's service. Some of

the treasury pleases with three millions of free men. Lord Camden, in the Lords, divine — but

them have done me the honour to ask my opinion before they would engage. These will do me the justice to own, I advised them to engage; but notwithstanding — I love to be explicit — I cannot give them my confidence: pardon me, gentlemen, (bowing to the ministry) confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity; by comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence.

“ There is a clause in the Act of Settlement, to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his Sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the Crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who looked for it; and I found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service, an hardy and intrepid race of men; men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state, in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side: they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world: detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom.

“ It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament. When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an act that has passed. I would speak with decency of every act of this House; but I must beg the indulgence of the House to speak of it with freedom.

“ I hope a day may be soon appointed to consider the state of the nation, with respect to America. I hope gentlemen will come to this debate with all the temper and impartiality that his Majesty recommends, and the importance of the subject requires,—a subject of greater

one voice about him. They divided ; we did not. Five Lords — the division, Camden, Shelburne, Paulet, Cornwallis, Torrington.

importance than ever engaged the attention of this House ; that subject only excepted, when, nearly a century ago, it was the question, whether you yourselves were to be bound or free ? In the mean time, as, I cannot depend upon my health for any future day, such is the nature of my infirmities, I will beg to say a few words at present, leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the act to another time. I will only speak to one point, a point which seems not to have been generally understood ; I mean to the right. Some gentlemen (alluding to Mr. Nugent) seem to have considered it as a point of honour. If gentlemen consider it in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong, to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen : equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned ; but the concurrence of the Peers and the Crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy, possessed the lands. In those days, the Barons and the Clergy gave and granted to the Crown. They gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land ; the Crown has divested itself of its great estates. The Church (God bless it !) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean ; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands ; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do ? We, your Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what ? Our own property ? No ! — We give and grant to your Majesty, the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms.

I am not able to attend again to-day ; when more resolutions are to be moved. It is probable the

“ The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The Crown, the Peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown, the Peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves : rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power.

“ There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here ? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom ? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number ! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough — a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw ? This is what is called ‘ the rotten part of the constitution.’ It cannot continue a century : if it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House, is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man : it does not deserve a serious refutation.

“ The Commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures — in every thing, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here I would draw the line,

— “ sunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.” *

Mr. Pitt concluded with a familiar voice and tone, but so low, that it was not easy to distinguish what he said. A considerable pause ensued after he had done speaking. Mr. Conway at length rose. He said, “ he had been waiting to see, whether any answer would be given to what had been observed by the right honourable gentleman, reserving himself for the reply ; but as none had been given, he had only to declare, that his own sentiments were conformable to those of the right

* “ Some certain mean in all things may be found,
To mark our virtues, and our vices bound.”

main question of repeal will not come on till Friday or Monday. Send the coach, my love, to—

honourable gentleman. That they are so conformable," he said, "is a circumstance that affects me with the most sensible pleasure, and confers upon me the greatest honour. But two things fell from the gentleman, which gave me pain. It was objected, that the notice given to parliament of the troubles in America, was not early. I can assure the House, the first accounts were too vague and imperfect to be worth the notice of parliament. It is only of late that they have been precise and full. An overruling influence has also been hinted at. I see nothing of it — I feel nothing of it — I disclaim it for myself, and, as far as my discernment can reach, for all the rest of his Majesty's ministers." — Mr. Pitt said, "the excuse is a valid one, if it is a just one: that must appear from the papers now before the House."

Mr. Grenville next entered, at great length, into a defence of his own measures. When he had concluded, several members rose to speak, amongst whom was Mr. Pitt; and the House was so clamorous to hear him, that the Speaker was obliged to call to order. After it was enforced, Mr. Pitt said, "that he did not mean to have gone any farther into the subject that day; but since the gentleman who spoke last, had gone into the whole question of the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the Stamp-act, as well as into the right, he would follow him into the whole field, and combat his arguments on every point.— He was going on, when Lord Strange rose to order. He said, that Mr. Pitt was about to speak twice in the same debate, although the House was not in a committee.— Mr. George Onslow observed, that Mr. Pitt was in order, as nothing had been said but what was fairly deducible from the King's speech; and appealed to the Speaker, who was of the same opinion. Upon which, Mr. Pitt said, "I do not apprehend that I am speaking twice. I did expressly reserve a part of my subject, in order to save the time of the House, but I am compelled to proceed in it. I do not speak twice. I only finish, what I designedly left imperfect; but if the House is of a different opinion, far be it from me to indulge a wish to transgress against order. I am content, if it be your pleasure, to be silent."—Here he paused; but the House resounding with cries of, Go on! Go on! he proceeded: —

morrow morning, and I shall then have it in my

“Gentlemen,—Sir (to the Speaker), I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom against this unhappy act, and that freedom has become their crime. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us, America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points, with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dog’s-ears, to defend the cause of liberty: if I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham. I would have cited them, to have shown that, even under former arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales; Wales, that never was taxed by parliament till it was incorporated. I would not debate a particular point of law with the gentleman. I know his abilities. I have been obliged to his diligent researches: but, for the defence of liberty, upon a general principle, upon a constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I stand firm; on which I dare meet any man. The gentleman tells us of many who are taxed, and are not represented. The India Company, merchants, stockholders, manufacturers. Surely many of these are represented in other capacities, as owners of land, or as freemen of boroughs. It is a misfortune that more are not equally represented: but they are all inhabitants, and as such, are they not virtually represented? Many have it in their option to be actually represented: they have connections with those that elect, and they have influence over them. The gentleman mentioned the stockholders: I hope he does not reckon the debts of the nation as a part of the national estate. Since the accession of King William, many ministers, some of great, others of more moderate abilities, have taken the lead of government.”—He then went through the list of them, bringing it down till he came to himself, giving a short sketch of the characters of each of them.

“None of these,” he said, “thought, or even dreamed, of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. That was reserved to mark

power to do as events allow. At present, adieu.
Kiss our dear babes for me.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

the era of the late administration : not that there were wanting some, when I had the honour to serve his Majesty, to propose to me to burn my fingers with an American stamp-act. With the enemy at their back, with our bayonets at their breasts, in the day of their distress, perhaps the Americans would have submitted to the imposition ; but it would have been taking an ungenerous and unjust advantage. The gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not those bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom ? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America ; I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain, that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern ; the greater must rule the less ; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. If the gentleman does not understand the difference between external and internal taxes, I cannot help it ; but there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject ; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter.

“ The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated ? But I desire to know, when they were made slaves. But I dwell not upon words. When I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I availed myself of the means of information which I derived from my office : I speak, therefore, from knowledge. My materials were good ; I was at pains to collect, to digest, to consider them ; and I will be bold to affirm, that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, threescore years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. Those estates sold then from fifteen to eighteen years’ purchase ; the same may now be sold for thirty. You owe this to America : this is the price America pays for her protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can bring a peppercorn into the exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation ? I dare

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, January 18, 1766.

SIR,

LORD ROCKINGHAM and myself are charged to deliver to you a message from his Majesty, which

not say how much higher these profits may be augmented. Omitting the immense increase of people by natural population, in the northern colonies, and the emigration from every part of Europe, I am convinced the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage. You have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged, and encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the continent, in favour of the islands. You have but two nations to trade with in America. Would you had twenty! Let acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong; much may be amended for the general good of the whole.

“ Does the gentleman complain that he has been misrepresented in the public prints? It is a common misfortune. In the Spanish affair of the last war, I was abused in all the newspapers, for having advised his Majesty to violate the laws of nations with regard to Spain. The abuse was industriously circulated even in hand-bills. If administration did not propagate the abuse, administration never contradicted it. I will not say what advice I did give to the King. My advice is in writing, signed by myself, in the possession of the Crown. But I will say what advice I did not give to the King: I did not advise him to violate any of the laws of nations. As to the report of the gentleman's preventing, in some way, the trade for bullion with the Spaniards, it was spoken of so confidently, that I own, I am one of those who did believe it to be true.

“ The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as the minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House, which does not choose to contradict a minister. I wish gentlemen would get the better of this modesty. Even that chair, Sir, sometimes looks towards St. James's. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. Lord Bacon had told me, that a great question would not fail of being agitated at one time or another. I was willing to agitate that question at the proper season; the

I think and hope will be preliminary to great good to this country.

German war, my German war they called it. Every session I called out, has any body any objections to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the Upper House, by succession to an ancient barony (meaning Lord Le Despencer, formerly Sir Francis Dashwood): he told me, 'he did not like a German war.' I honoured the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post.

"A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. I know the valour of your troops. I know the skill of your officers. There is not a company of foot that has served in America, out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there. But on this ground, on the Stamp act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it.

"In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole House of Bourbon is united against you? While France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave-trade to Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their property stipulated by treaty; while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman (Colonel Draper) whose noble and generous spirit would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country.

"The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. The Americans have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:—

'Be to her faults a little blind:
Be to her virtues very kind.'

"Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp-act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reason for the repeal should be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the

I have the honour to be, with all possible esteem
and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
GRAFTON.

P.S.—When we receive your answer, we will
wait on you if convenient.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Tuesday, 1 o'clock, [January 21, 1766.]

MY sweetest love's letter has made me happy,
and her prudent and tender care keeps me easy
about the dear, dear boys. Hurry is extreme;
not my hurry, for, you know, I disclaim it; but
others will see me, to say very pressing *nothings*.
I have no chance of seeing you till Thursday.
Business in the House swarms, but the bees never
settle: so things go off from day to day. I have
no news to send. All is confusion, as usual.

Your ever loving husband,
W. PITT.

same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies
be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend
to every point of legislation whatsoever: that we may bind their trade,
confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever—
except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their
consent."

The address was agreed to without a division.

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, January 30, 1766.

SIR,

As you went out of town, understanding it to be settled that we should proceed on the debate, in consequence of having read all the American papers, to-morrow, I think it right to inform you, to save you the trouble of coming up unnecessarily, that we could not finish last night, and that it will be as much as we can do, if we get through the rest of the papers and the *vivâ voce* evidence to-morrow. ⁽²⁾ The House is so fatigued with these long sittings, and attention to useless uninforming

(1) Only son of the right hon. Arthur Onslow, many years speaker of the House of Commons. He was at this time member for the county of Surrey, and one of the lords of the treasury. In May 1776, he was created baron Cranley; and in the following October succeeded to the title of baron Onslow, by the death of his cousin, the third Lord Onslow. In 1801, he was created viscount Cranley and earl of Onslow; and died in 1814.

(2) On the 21st of January, leave had been given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp-act; upon which occasion, a motion by Mr. Grenville, to substitute the words "explain and amend," instead of "repeal," was rejected, upon a division, by 275 against 167; and in a committee of the whole House, which sat daily, not only the petitions and papers laid before them were taken into consideration, but several persons were examined at their bar, and among them Dr. Benjamin Franklin, whose testimony tended to prove the Stamp-duty in every respect impolitic, and injurious to the country, and that the Americans would never submit to it, however modified, unless compelled by arms.

papers, that I doubt whether they will be prevailed on to sit on Saturday ; indeed, there is not quite the same reason for it, as if we had proceeded to any resolutions.

After that, I hope we shall not stop till we have gone through the whole, and, by relieving America, saved the trade of Great Britain. Her dignity is concerned in doing justice, and in giving happiness and tranquillity to every individual that lives under her protection. God grant that those principles of government which you so nobly support, may govern the legislature in this arduous, important work ! You shall certainly know on what day it is determined to proceed. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obliged, and

ever faithful humble servant,

GEORGE ONSLOW.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

February 11, 1766.

I HAVE the pleasure to be able to make you easy about my health, by telling you I bore the fatigue of yesterday till past twelve o'clock very well, and am not worse to-day, though the weather is severe. We debated long on various resolutions relative to

America, and finally ended in a good deal of agreement. The whole of things is inexplicable.⁽¹⁾ Tuesdaylast, in the Lords, the ministry lost by *three* votes the question we debated yesterday ; which was by us completely retaliated ; for we overturned and beat, *à platte couture*, the triumphant factions, and brought them to agree, in words and substance, to somewhat more moderate even than the ministry themselves meant.

I just learn that the world is at the House of Lords to-day, where mighty things are doing. I am sorry to say Lord Temple rises in passion, and sinks in consideration ; Lord Camden grows in fame and public confidence. I have just seen your brother James, looking ill, but I trust not so to

(1) Lord Chesterfield, writing, *on the same day*, to his son, says — “ Perhaps you expect from me a particular account of the present state of affairs ; but if you do, you will be disappointed, for no man living knows what it is ; it varies, not only daily, but hourly. Most people think, and I amongst the rest, that the date of the present ministers is pretty nearly out ; but how soon we are to have a new style, God knows ! This, however, is certain, that the other day they lost a question in the House of Lords by three. The question was, to enforce the execution of the Stamp-act in the colonies *ri et armis*. What conclusions you will draw from these premises, I do not know ; I protest I draw none, but only stare at the present undecypherable state of affairs, which, in fifty years’ experience, I have never seen any thing like. The Stamp-act has proved a most pernicious measure ; for, whether it is repealed or not, it has given such terror to the Americans, that our trade with them will not be for some years what it used to be. Great numbers of our manufacturers at home will be turned a starving ; and hunger is always the cause of tumults and sedition.”

any great degree. The Almighty be praised for the state of our sweet children! May the same divine goodness continue to preserve them, and no infection reach them, or spread through our poor village! ⁽¹⁾ I doubt if I shall have the joy of seeing you to-morrow. Perhaps I must attend at St. Stephens. Your loving husband,

W. PITT. ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ The small-pox was at this time raging throughout the surrounding country.

⁽²⁾ On the 10th of February, the bill declaring the right of Great Britain to make laws binding the North American colonies in all cases whatever, was, after a long debate, read the third time. Mr. Pitt's speech upon the occasion will be found noticed in the following letter from

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM GERARD HAMILTON TO
JOHN CALCRAFT, Esq.

"Tuesday, February 11, 1766.

"DEAR CALCRAFT,

"THE only light in which my letters can be of use, in the present barren state of politics, is in the light you mention — not to convey true intelligence, for there is none such, but to obviate the false reports which are circulated by others. The most sanguine wishers for a change in the administration do not presume to flatter themselves that there will be one till Easter, and do not seriously think there will be one till the end of the session; and what will happen at that distance, he must, I think, be a man of great presumption who shall pretend to foretell. There are, however, many who believe that the Duke of Grafton and Conway will resign, if the King still continues to decline sending for Mr. Pitt; and that this will take place as soon as the American business is at an end. I am persuaded that there are certain parts of the present administration who will, upon no account, act with Mr. Pitt. For those who want merely to keep a subordinate employment, he is certainly the best minister in

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, Friday night, 12 o'clock.
[February 14, 1766.]

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour of your most obliging letter yesterday, every expression in which regarding

the world ; but for those who wish to have a share in the rule and government of the country, he is the worst : what system will rise up out of this chaos no one can say, or even conjecture, with probability.

“ Wednesday night. — The former part of my letter I wrote yesterday, and intended to finish it in the evening, but was prevented, as the House sat till twelve at night, upon the third reading of the American bill. Mr. Pitt was there, and spoke as pleasingly, though not very argumentatively, as I ever heard him. He never appeared in better health; and introduced, with infinite humour, the meeting between Lord Bute, George Grenville, and the Duke of Bedford: a delicate subject for George Grenville to speak upon; and yet he did speak upon it, guardedly and dexterously. The impression he conveyed was, that the whole conversation turned upon the Stamp-act; that nothing else was agitated there; that Lord Bute spoke at that meeting in a manner which did him honour, and that he had no personal animosity to him.

“ Mr. Pitt gave an account of his two interviews with the King, in August 1763, and in June last. In speaking of the first, he contradicted absolutely every thing that had been circulated, as to the unreasonableness of his demands; and in treating of the last, he passed over studiously every thing that related to Lord Temple's refusal. He declared that he had refused to acquiesce in Stuart Mackenzie's being restored to an office of influence, but consented to his having a sinecure employment. Upon the whole, I think the day was a very reputable one for Lord Bute, and that it gave, as indeed it ought to give, a great deal of satisfaction to his friends, to hear both Mr. Pitt and George Grenville labouring to explain that they had not d

myself I am proud of, as indeed I ought to be, and shall most certainly preserve it, that my family may know hereafter, I was within the notice and esteem of Mr. Pitt. To return you my thanks would alone have occasioned you this second

least degree of personal animosity whatsoever to him, and letting it be understood, that if he would make either of them ministers, and be satisfied with a moderate share of influence, they should be extremely happy in his friendship.

“Lord Rockingham has given to Milbank the place of commissioner of the revenue in Ireland, though Lord Hertford had promised it to another. It was vacated by the death of Sir Richard Cox, and I should think the not complying with the Lord Lieutenant’s request in the disposition of a preferment usually, though not strictly, within his department, pressed as I understand it was, by the two secretaries of state, must have increased the divisions in the cabinet; which, without any addition, were, I believe, sufficient to put an end to the present ridiculous administration. When the ministers went into the closet to recommend to the regiment vacated by the death of General Durand, his Majesty lamented exceedingly, that they had not applied sooner, as it was already disposed of to Lieutenant Colonel Walsh; who, I understand, is lieutenant colonel to Lord Townshend. The American bill was read a first time in the House of Lords to-day, with little debate. Friday is fixed for the second reading. There is a long protest drawn up by Lord Lyttelton; and it is a question much agitated, whether Lord Bute will, or will not sign it. Many refined inferences are drawn from a thing which seems in itself to be of little importance. The Duke of Bedford has the gout, and will not be able to attend. Adieu,

“W. G. HAMILTON.”

“P. S. It is generally thought that the ministry will, when the American bill is over, make a proposal for several removals; and that upon the King’s refusing his consent they will resign. The Newmarket week, we have always observed is a week of business.”

trouble ; but I also write, lest my silence should make you doubtful what to do, to inform you, Sir, that we have just now *finished* all the papers and evidence, which has been lengthened out to this time, I won't say by a *useless*, but by a worse than useless, by the most artful, premeditated string of questions, calculated for a particular purpose, which I trust in God will be defeated, notwithstanding the combined force which is to act in support of it. Of that combination we have had a proof to-day, if any was wanting after what you saw the other day, by a thorough union between the late administration and those who call themselves Lord Bute's friends, on a Scotch election. ⁽¹⁾

On Monday it is determined to proceed to the debate, on which I think the fate of this country and its dominions depend ; so that till then you may enjoy the air and quiet of Hayes. My father begs his respectful compliments to you ; and I have the honour to be, with great truth and respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and

devoted humble servant,

GEORGE ONSLOW. ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ "The other day, the ministers had a contested election in the House of Commons, and got it but by *eleven* votes — too small a majority to carry any thing !" — *Lord Chesterfield*.

⁽²⁾ On the 13th of February, Mr. Gerard Hamilton thus writes to Mr. Calcraft : — "To-day it is again strongly reported, that the ministry have once more attempted to prevail on his Majesty to send for Mr. Pitt, and that they received for answer, that when they found themselves incapable of carrying on the

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Saturday morning, February 15, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

IN obedience to your commands I have endeavoured to procure you a copy of the evidence on the American papers, which ended on Thursday night; but the length of it has made it impossible to finish till to-night, so that I cannot to-day have the honour of sending it to you. However, Sir, I cannot help inquiring after your health, which I hope to God is no worse than when I saw you on Wednesday, nor could I suffer myself to have even the appearance of what I am incapable of, — any neglect of your commands.

Though we have finished *our* evidence, Mr. Grenville has some to examine, which will certainly employ all Monday, and perhaps Tuesday;

public business, his Majesty would, without their assistance, consider of proper persons to succeed them. Your friends are extremely busy in negociation, and the truth of the matter is, that every body seems whipping and spurring to get to court as fast as possible. If you succeed, I hope you will, in a phrase that is equally applicable both to horsemanship and politics, *bring one in handsomely in a good place*. The terror of passing next summer out of employment seems universal. Langford, the auctioneer*, grows more and more unreasonable, and I think the last day in the House has raised the price exceedingly. The old ministry got the start of you; but at the rate you seem now to be getting on, I think you will overtake them. I despair of being able to send to-morrow night an account of the debate of the Lords, the House will probably sit so late. But you shall at all events hear from me by the post on Saturday."

* Seats in parliament were at this time disposed of by public auction.

for I have the pleasure of telling you, that those who are friends to the Stamp-act, have no reason to wish for the day of debate on that subject. (¹)

(¹) The following interesting account of the proceedings in the House of Lords on the American Declaratory bill, and also on the bill for the repeal of the Stamp-act, are contained in letters from Mr. Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Calcraft:—

“Saturday, February 15, 1766.

“The House of Lords, though it did not sit so late as it was apprehended it would, sat however late enough to make me so stupid, that I was utterly unable to write to you last night. You know that two bills were sent from the Commons to the Lords. The first, declaratory of the right of this country to tax America; and the second, for the repeal of the Stamp-act; and it was upon the former of these two only, that all the debates of yesterday turned.

“The following persons spoke in the order in which I have mentioned them:—Lords Buckingham, Shelburne, Pomfret, Camden, Mansfield, Egmont, and Denbigh. The only material parts of the debate lay between Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield. They each of them spoke twice, and spoke for a long time together. Lord Camden began by answering the speech which Lord Mansfield had made a month ago, in support of the *right*. This sort of conduct Lord Mansfield affected to consider as a great compliment to him, and valued himself that any thing he said could not be answered without a month's pre-meditation. He ridiculed the set speech which Lord Camden had made, compared it to the words which are spoke in Nova Zembla, and which are said to be froze for a month, before any body can get at their meaning. He then dropped a few hints about the want of quickness in his Lordship to make an immediate reply; and intimated, that Lord Camden never had said, and never could say any thing, which he would not, and which upon the former debate he did not, undertake to give an immediate answer to.

“After this introduction, he entered not only into every member, but almost into every sentence, of Lord Camden's argument, and, to my judgment at least, refuted the whole; but, I think, did not exculpate himself from a charge which Lord Camden brought against him, and supported very well,

The spirit in which you left the House has certainly increased rather than received any di-

of having made a false quotation from a statute, in order to maintain a principle he had laid down in a former debate.

"You will hear, and particularly by your own friends, Lord Camden much commended, and he certainly spoke spiritedly and pleasingly; but then it was the sort of speech that would have done honour to such a man as I am, rather than the performance of a chief-justice, of a great lawyer, and of a man, who was fit to stand in competition with Lord Mansfield.

"When the altercation was over, in regard to the points which were in dispute between him and Lord Camden, Lord Mansfield entered at large into a discussion of the merits of the bill, which the House of Commons had passed for ascertaining the *right* of this country over America. He treated it with the utmost contempt. He not only said, but I think proved demonstrably, that it was from beginning to end an absurdity; that it contained many falsehoods; that it would render the legislature, if it passed unaltered, ridiculous and contemptible; and he suggested several particulars, in which it was defective, but declared he would in form propose no amendment whatsoever, but leave it to the choice of the administration, who were the patrons of the bill, to avail themselves, or not, as they thought proper, of the hints which he had thrown out. Lord Egmont spoke tediously, in defence of the bill, as the Commons had passed it. The Lords go into the committee upon it on Monday; and upon Tuesday the bill for the repeal of the Stamp-act, is to be read a second time.

"This is, I think, a general state of the debate, of which you wished to have an account. Dowdeswell moved, and Mr. Pitt seconded, the proposal for an alteration of the cider tax, and it was carried in the committee, without a division; but there are many doubts whether this plan will pass in the House of Lords. Yours most sincerely,

"W. G. HAMILTON."

"Monday night, February 17.

"The bill relative to the right, was committed to-day in the House of Lords, where nothing passed that was material.

minution, even of any one person. I say this with a view to the two Charles's ⁽¹⁾, both of whom, I have

There was another altercation between Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden, upon the subject of that mis-quotation which I mentioned to you in my last: when I think Lord Camden did better, and Lord Mansfield worse, than upon the former day. One amendment only was proposed by Lord Pomfret of no importance, and which was soon given up. The bill will go back to the House of Commons, with one slight alteration proposed by Lord Dartmouth, at the desire of the ministry, and acquiesced in by the whole House.

"In the House of Commons, Lord Bute's people opposed very faintly the repeal of the cider tax, and in consequence of it, the laying a new duty, to be collected in another manner. Wedderburn made a popular proposition, that a committee should be appointed to review the Excise laws, which was overruled by a great majority. Nothing as yet circulates, with regard to an intended change; the ministry differ, I believe, more than ever among themselves."

"Wednesday, February 19.

"The question of the repeal came on yesterday, and the Lords sat between eleven and twelve hours, which is later than ever was remembered. Lord Coventry began the debate, and spoke very decently, and would I think with use, be a good performer. The Duke of Newcastle, Sandwich, and Halifax were all very indifferent. The Duke of Richmond was about his usual pitch; however, he stuck to Halifax upon the subject of secreting from parliament last session, some papers which he had been directed to communicate: but upon the whole, I think Halifax made a tolerable defence. What Shelburne said was, in my opinion, extremely well, though not directly to the question.

"The best part of the debate was, upon this occasion as upon the former, between Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden; but, in my opinion, Lord Mansfield was far superior. He spoke with much pathetic and real eloquence against the repeal: Lord Camden talked a great deal about liberty and juries; but at the

(¹) Charles Yorke and Charles Townshend.

reason to think, will support our motion for the repeal. Without their assistance I should not have

same time abused, with great acrimony and some talents, all George Grenville's American regulations, and dwelt long upon the subject of *the poor Americans*; in many parts, however, of his performance, he was extremely puerile. You will be surprised when I tell you, that Lord Townshend answered one or two particulars of Lord Camden's speech, both with some ability and some humour. The Duke of Grafton acquitted himself rather well than otherwise; but nothing, I think, very remarkable. Lord Lyttelton did not answer my expectation; he kept entirely in generals, had some eloquence and a great deal of fine expression, but it was mere declamation, without an attempt at argument. Lord Temple pointed most part of what he said personally at Lord Camden; who, I observe, avoids upon all occasions studiously the least altercation with his lordship.

"This is, in my opinion, the state of the debate. The numbers, without proxies, were, for the repeal 73, and against it 61; but the majority for the repeal, adding the proxies on both sides, was 105 to 71. The Duke of York voted in the minority, but the Duke of Gloucester did not vote at all. The Duke of Bedford spoke a few minutes, and came to the House very ill with the gout; and nothing entertained me more than Lord Bute's coming, in the most marked manner, from the last bench to the first, to inquire after his Grace's health. However inclined the Duke of Bedford might be to meet him in private, he seemed rather ashamed of his acquaintance in public, and gave him, according to my judgment, a very cold reception. Lord Pomfret, contrary to general expectation, voted with the majority; and it is the fashion to say, that the Duke of Gloucester was prevailed upon by Lady Waldegrave * not to vote at all." †

* Daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, and widow of the Earl of Waldegrave. She was married to the Duke of Gloucester in the following September.

† The following order of the debate is from a memorandum, in the handwriting of Philip Yorke second Earl of Hardwicke:—"1. Earl of Coventry. 2. Duke of Newcastle. 3. Earl of Sandwich. 4. Duke of Grafton. 5. Earl of Halifax. 6. Duke of Richmond. 7. Earl Poulet. 8. Earl of Pomfret. 9. Lord Botetourt. 10. Earl of Suffolk. 11. Lord Chancellor. 12. Lord Lyttelton. 13. Earl of Shelburne. 14. Lord Mansfield. 15. Lord Camden. 16. Vicount Townshend. 17. Earl Temple. 18. Duke of Bedford."

doubted of success, but with them it will be a decisive day indeed on this most important question, — more and more important every day, — every hour. I hope and believe the public will always remember how much they will owe that decision, and consequently their immediate salvation, to Mr. Pitt.

The turn which affairs in the closet have taken confirm the wisdom of your advice, and way of thinking, on that subject. The King has very generously cleared Lord Rockingham of any misrepresentation, and has, indeed, also shown there has been no inconsistency in his own several conversations; by which he has made it not even necessary to return him the compliment of

“Thursday night, February 20.—The bill for the repeal of the Stamp-act went through the committee in the Lords to-day, without any opposition, and was reported: the third reading is fixed for Monday, when there will be a debate, which you will probably be in town time enough to hear; both Houses are adjourned to that day. Every body says that the Duke of Grafton and Conway will resign by the latter end of next week; and I conclude some arrangement or other is adjusted at court, because Lord Bute is going into the country for three weeks, that it may take place in his absence, and that it may appear as if he was not the mover in it. This, if I am not mistaken, has been practised before. It is supposed that the thing wished at court, and now endeavouring at, is to prevail on Mr. Pitt to go into the House of Lords: the universal opinion is, that he will be sent for by the King; upon what grounds, I know not; but I am persuaded that the old ministry are in ignorance and uncertainty, as to their real situation at court.” Yours, dear Calcraft, most faithfully,

“W. G. H.”

“ putting the best construction on his words and actions.” More of this I shall have the honour of explaining to you. Unless you still keep to your intention of coming to town to-morrow, I shall certainly transmit you the copy of the evidence to Hayes. If you do come to town, you shall find it on your table in Bond-street; where I shall very soon beg the favour of your permission to assure you in person of the respectful affection with which I am, Sir,

Your most obliged,

GEO. ONSLOW.

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

House of Commons, Wednesday, 4 o'clock,
February 19, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

You must have wondered very much at hearing nothing from me, either of the rest of the evidence, or of the day appointed for the important debate. The truth is, I could not till this moment get the evidence, though I expected it all day yesterday. I have *now* not been able to get that of yesterday, which was indeed not very essential to the present question, being chiefly produced for facts relative to the Spanish trade.

Friday is fixed for the debate, when we shall be happy to find your health will enable you to do that service to the public you always wish to do, and which your attendance that day will particularly do. Indeed, I do persuade myself, that what you will see that day will greatly tend to your cure. That it may be by some means very speedily effected, is the prayer of every lover of his country, but of none more than him who has the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your truly obliged servant,

GEORGE ONSLOW.

JAMES BOSWELL, ESQ.⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

St. James Street, February 19, 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to receive your most obliging letter, and can with difficulty restrain

(¹) This characteristic letter was written a few days after Mr. Boswell's arrival in England. In 1765, after making the tour of the continent, he sailed to Corsica, travelled over every part of that island, and obtained the friendship of the illustrious Pascal Paoli, in whose palace he resided during his stay. In 1768, he gave to the world his "Account of Corsica, with a Journal of a Tour to that Island;" of which performance Dr. Johnson thus expresses his opinion—"Your journal is in a very high degree curious and delightful: you express images which operated strongly upon yourself, and you have impressed them with great force upon your readers. I know not whether I could name any narrative, by which curiosity is better excited, or better gratified."

myself from paying you compliments on the very genteel manner in which you are pleased to treat me. But I come from a people among whom even the honest arts of insinuation are unknown. However you may by political circumstances be in one view a simple individual, yet, Sir, Mr. Pitt will always be the prime minister of the brave, the secretary of freedom and of spirit; and I hope that I may with propriety talk to him of the views of the illustrious Paoli. ⁽¹⁾

Be that as it may, I shall very much value the honour of being admitted to your acquaintance. I am, with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

JAMES BOSWELL.

⁽¹⁾ The following is Napoleon Buonaparte's account of his distinguished countryman :—" In 1755, Pascal Paoli was appointed first magistrate and general of Corsica. He had been educated at Naples, and was a captain in the service of King Don Carlos. He was tall, young, handsome, learned, and eloquent. In 1769, a French army, commanded by Marshal de Vaux, landed in Corsica. The inhabitants fought resolutely; but, driven to the south of the island, Paoli embarked, June 16, in an English ship at Porto Vecchio, landed at Leghorn, crossed the continent, and repaired to London, where he was every where received with tokens of the greatest admiration, both by the people and their princes." — *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 36.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Friday, past one, February 21, 1766.⁽¹⁾

My love will, I trust, be better pleased to hear of me from the fountain-head than by hearsay.

⁽¹⁾ On this day, the resolutions of the committee of the whole House, appointed to consider of the papers relative to the disturbances in America, on account of the Stamp-act, were taken into consideration; and, after a debate which lasted till one in the morning, and a division of 275 against 167, leave was given to bring in a bill to repeal the said act. No report of Mr. Pitt's speech on this memorable occasion has been preserved in any collection of debates; but the following account of what passed in the course of these discussions is contained in a letter from Lord Charlemont to Mr. Flood —

“Mr. Pitt has spoken several times: his first speech was nearly two hours long. He began by abusing the late ministry, and in particular George Grenville, who did not choose to answer him. He then found fault with the present also, insinuating that they were under ill influences; ‘I say *influences* in the plural, because I would not be understood to mean only that influence which is most suspected.’ By this he is supposed to have hinted at the too great influence of the Duke of Newcastle. He then spoke to the American affair, and boldly and distinctly declared, that the act of taxation was illegal; that the colonies could only be taxed by their representatives; and concluded by insisting, that the act should be repealed as illegal. This produced a warm debate: the majority of the House seemed to be of opinion that, if the tax were to be taken off, it should be done upon a supposition that it was too heavy for the colonies to bear, but that the rescinding of the act should be accompanied by an explicit declaration of the right of taxation. Heavens, what a fellow is this Pitt! I had his bust before; but nothing less than his statue shall content me now.”

It was during these debates on the Stamp-act, that Mr. Burke, who in January had taken his seat for Wendover, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, made his parliamentary *début*. Lord Charlemont states, that Mr. Pitt, who followed him in the debate, complimented him by observing, “that the

Thank God, I am able to send a good account of myself, legs excepted ; more properly, one leg only excepted. I must get up to the House as I can ; when in my place, I feel I am tolerably able to remain through the debate, and cry Aye ! to the repeal, with no sickly voice.

I wish I could have had the comfort of hearing that poor little Hester was better. Thank Heaven, my love and the rest of her babes are as well as when we parted. Till the dear hour of meeting, adieu.

W. PITT.

LADY CHATHAM TO MR. PITT.

Hayes, past nine, Saturday,
February 22, 1766.

Joy to you, my dear love. The joy of thousands is yours, under Heaven, who has crowned

young member had proved a very able advocate ; he had himself intended to enter at length into the details, but he had been anticipated ; with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that there was little left for him to say ; he congratulated him on his success, and his friends on the value of the acquisition they had made." Dr. Johnson also, in writing to Mr. Bennet Langton, a few days after, says, in reference to the Literary Club, "we have the loss of Burke's company since he has been engaged in public business, in which he has gained more reputation than perhaps any man at his first appearance ever gained before. He made two speeches for repealing the Stamp-act, which were publicly commended by Mr. Pitt, and have filled the town with wonder."—See Boswell's Johnson, vol. ii. p. 321. ed. 1835.

your endeavours with such happy success. May the Almighty give to mine and to the general prayers, that you may wake without any increased gout, or any cold that may threaten it, by-and-bye! I will hope that Mr. Onslow may have been a true prophet, and that what you saw yesterday, and what Johnson tells me you *heard*, the gratitude of a rescued people, have cured you.

I cannot tell you with what pleasure my eyes opened upon the news. All my feelings tell me that I hate oppression, and that I love zealously the honour of my dear husband. I must not be sorry that I do not see you to-day: it would be too great a hurry, and it is fit you should rejoice with those that have *triumphed* under you.

I hope that little Hester's cough is something better; much I cannot say, but as it has begun to yield, I trust we shall soon get the better of it. She and John are by no means indifferent to the news. Eager Mr. William I have not yet seen. A thousand thanks for your dear note of yesterday. The hounds are just discovered in Dock Mead, and have animated us into a charming noise; which would be inconvenient, if I had more to add, than that I am

Your ever faithful and loving wife,

CHATHAM.

You will keep Smith as long as you please, till it is convenient for you to see him. I do not understand the House dividing at half-past twelve, and your not being at home till half-past two.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

February 22, past four, 1766.

HAPPY, indeed, was the scene of this glorious *morning* (for at past one we divided), when the sun of liberty shone once more benignly upon a country, too long benighted. My dear love, not all the applauding joy which the hearts of animated gratitude, saved from despair and bankruptcy, uttered in the lobby, could touch me, in any degree, like the tender and lively delight, which breathes in your warm and affectionate note.

All together, my dearest life, makes me not ill to-day after the immense fatigue, or not feeling that I am so. Wonder not if I should find myself in a placid and sober fever, for tumultuous exultation you know I think not permitted to feeble mortal successes; but my delight, heartfelt and solid as it is, must want its sweetest ingredient (if not its very essence) till I rejoice with my angel, and with her join in thanksgivings to protecting Heaven, for all our happy deliverances.

Thank you for the sight of Smith: his honest joy and affection charm me. Loves to the sweet babes, patriotic or not; though I hope impetuous William is not behind in feelings of that kind. Send the saddle-horses if you please, so as to be in town early to-morrow morning. I propose, and hope, to execute my journey to Hayes by eleven.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, February 25, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

As you seemed desirous of information how we proceeded in our present undertaking, I cannot help acquainting you, that after I sent away the letter I had the honour of writing to you last night, we came to a division upon the question for re-committing the main resolution, and were 240 to 133. The question was moved by Oswald ⁽¹⁾, with much more warmth, I think, than ability. He was answered very ably by Colonel Barré, whom you would have been pleased with. Stanley replied to him, and procured us one of the finest performances Hussey ⁽²⁾ ever made. Norton attempted to answer Mr. Hussey. Some people, I hear, thought better of his arguments than I did. Mr. Dyson ⁽³⁾ acted with his usual parliamentary

⁽¹⁾ Member for the boroughs of Kirkaldy, &c., and at this time one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland.

⁽²⁾ Richard Hussey, member for St. Mawes, counsel to the navy, and attorney-general to the Queen.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Dyson was, at this time, member for Yarmouth, and one of the lords of trade. He had been, for several years, principal clerk of the House of Commons, and is described by Mr. George Hardinge, as "quite a man of business, of order and figures, of parliamentary forms, and of political argument; having neither fancy nor eloquence, and though possessing strong prejudices, veiling them in obliging manners." In 1763, he was joint secretary of the treasury, and in 1774, cofferer of the household. He was originally a dissenter, and, while studying the civil law at Leyden, became acquainted with Akenside

sagacity, and endeavoured to embarrass us all he could. Mr. Conway treated him as he deserved ; and after that Mr. Dowdeswell and Mr. Grenville closed *that* debate.

Afterwards, Dr. Blackstone⁽¹⁾ moved an instruction for inserting clauses for rescinding the American resolutions, which was most childish and peevishly supported, and, in about two hours, rejected without a division. The bill will be presented to-morrow, read a second time on Thursday, committed for Friday, and, I suppose, read a third time on Monday next ; when they will make their material stand, though Mr. Grenville has declared constant opposition in *every* stage, to what he called yesterday a servile, mean, and contemptible bill. The Chancellor and Lord Mansfield have declared for agreeing with us.

I beg pardon for troubling you with so long a detail, but thought you might possibly like to have as circumstantial an account as I could give of a transaction, which you have, from such public

the poet, "to whom," says Dr. Johnson, "with an ardour of friendship that has not many examples, he allowed three hundred pounds a year, to enable him to advance in medical reputation." He died in 1776.

(¹) This celebrated lawyer, and popular writer on the constitution of his country, was at this time member for Hindon, King's counsel, and solicitor-general to the Queen. The first volume of his "Commentaries on the Laws of England" had just made its appearance. In 1770, he was made one of the justices of common pleas ; which situation he held till his death in 1780, in his fifty-seventh year.

spirited motives, taken so great a share in. I hope this will find you in less pain than you were, and that you will weather this attack without more confinement. I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your ever obliged, and

devoted humble servant,

GEORGE ONSLOW.⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ On the same day, Mr. Gerard Hamilton thus writes to Mr. Calcraft:—“Nothing has occurred since your absence. The House of Commons sat till two o'clock upon the report of the American resolutions. Oswald moved, that the resolution of the repeal might be recommitted, and Lord Bute's friends took a warm part. I know nothing more with certainty of any change, than when you left me. The reports, as usual, are various and contradictory. Lord Temple is gone to Stowe: my opinion retains rather its former bias, and I still think it will terminate in the old ministry, and Lord Temple; but many who have a right to know think otherwise. It is confidently asserted, that some intercepted letters bring an account of 'hostilities intended in May next, by the Spaniards against Gibraltar.' A public calamity insures the government of this country to Mr. Pitt; at which I shall rejoice for the sake of the country, and because it will be agreeable to you; whether I am, or am not interested in the event. Let me, however, take this opportunity of dropping a single word to you, by way of request,—that you will never propose what you once mentioned in conversation at Hampton-Court, and again in Arlington-street, namely, that I should, under any circumstances, accept of the Treasury. If I can indulge nothing else, I will indulge my vanity; which I am free to confess to you, would be mortified by such a proposition. I shall give you the best, and most constant intelligence of what is going forward here, during your absence. I know a London correspondent is a great acquisition to a person in the country, and I assure you most sincerely, that I employ myself with great pleasure in whatever can contribute to your entertainment, or to convince you how very sincerely and faithfully, I am yours,

“ W. G. H.”

MEMORANDUM OF A CONFERENCE WITH LORD
ROCKINGHAM.

[Read by Mr. Nuthall to Mr. Pitt.]

Wednesday, February 26, 1766.

LORD ROCKINGHAM, in Palace-yard, called to me to come into his coach, and, after some conversation concerning public affairs, said, “ He wished to God, Mr. Pitt would fix upon some plan for carrying on administration, putting himself at the head of it ; and that such a plan might be laid before the King — that if such a thing was to be brought to the King, his Lordship verily believed his Majesty would concede to it — that if the ministry were to desire the King to put the management of public affairs into Mr. Pitt’s hands, and on that idea the King should send for Mr. Pitt, his Lordship feared, if arrangements were not previously settled, it might end in breaking to pieces the present administration ; which made him very desirous that a system might be previously settled ; and his Lordship desired me to go on the morrow to Mr. Pitt, and convey to him his ideas and wishes on this subject, and that he would meet the Duke of Grafton, and General Conway, and himself on this business. On my return, he desired I would immediately impart to him Mr. Pitt’s sentiments ; for which purpose, he would be at home to-morrow evening, and would leave orders for my seeing him.”

Before I parted, on considering what his Lordship had said, I asked, if Mr. Pitt should condescend to say any thing to me on this subject, further than as concerning a meeting, whether this plan, if it was to take effect, was to be carried to the King by his ministers, as that which they would recommend and answer for, or whether Mr. Pitt himself should, on being sent for or invited by the King to take administration upon him, recommend it to the King as a plan for a solid administration? his Lordship said, that might be as Mr. Pitt pleased.

I think I asked his Lordship, during the discourse, what he meant by saying, in case a plan was not settled beforehand, administration would be in danger of being broke to pieces. If I did not ask it, I am sure his Lordship, of his own accord, explained his meaning, that the arrangements Mr. Pitt might insist on might be such as would disgust those friends who had stood by them firmly, and who would think it very hard to be forced out, or adrift, when they had done nothing to deserve it.

MESSAGE FROM MR. PITT TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

[Committed to writing by Mr. Nuthall, from Mr. Pitt's mouth.]

February 27, 1766.

IN answer to the honour of Lord Rockingham's message by Mr. Nuthall, Mr. Pitt desires to assure

his Lordship, that he should be proud and happy to confer with Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway, openly and unreservedly, upon the formation of an administration, if respect and duty to the King did not indispensably forbid him, without his Majesty's express commands, so to do; sensible that nothing but the King's most gracious pleasure that he should lay his feeble thoughts, in the royal presence, at his Majesty's feet, can acquit him, as a private individual, of the highest presumption, in obtruding his opinion in a matter of this nature.

Mr. Pitt cannot enough express the sense he has of the honour Lord Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway do him, by this mark of their favourable opinion; and he trusts that difficulties on his part, from the nature of things insurmountable, will not be construed into any want of regard, inclination, or confidence.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Friday morning, February 28, 1766.

SIR,

I saw Lord Rockingham, after I left you last night; who finds a difficulty in communicating your message, which is this, that by the latter part of it, the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway may be supposed to have been privy to the message

Lord Rockingham desired me to deliver to you ; which certainly was without their knowledge at the time, and therefore his Lordship wishes that part might be altered, so as to be conformable to the fact, in any manner you please. If you authorise me to make this alteration, then the last sentence will relate to Lord Rockingham only, and the names of the Duke or of Mr. Conway will not stand in it ; or perhaps you may choose to make it different in other respects ; but upon the substance of what is contained in your answer, his Lordship, whenever you come to town, desires he may have an opportunity of conferring with you.

The bill for the repeal of the Stamp-act was read a second time yesterday, and committed for this day. This Lord Rockingham did not know ; but I was told afterwards, that there was no debate, and that this is expected to be the day of opposition in the committee. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

T. NUTHALL.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Hayes, Friday, 12 o'clock, February 28, 1766.

IN answer to your note of this morning, my dear Nuthall, I will only observe to you, first, that *ambassadorship* is a troublesome trade. What you read to me, being an *invitation* from Lord

Rockingham to confer with his Lordship, the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Conway, it was natural to suppose, that the two last-mentioned persons were privy to the message. That not being so, I beg Lord Rockingham will leave out (in the latter part of my answer) those two names, if it relieves his lordship of the least embarrassment in communicating the rest of it; which I hope will be done, *word for word*, as it is conceived in *my own terms*.

Be so good as to present my best compliments to Lord Rockingham, assuring him I shall always be proud of the honour of seeing his lordship; but that he will be pleased to see by my answer (which is final), that I am under an impossibility of conferring upon the matter of *administration* without *his Majesty's commands*, as expressed in the paper you wrote from my mouth. I continue lame to-day, and am unhappy to be absent from the committee. Believe me always, my dear Nuthall, affectionately yours,

WILLIAM PITT.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Crosby Square, February 28, 1766.

SIR,

I HEARTILY subscribe to your position, that ambassadorship is a troublesome trade. I beg leave to add, dangerous too, and that I envy not the most honourable and expert professors in it.

I have communicated the exact contents of the

letter I had the honour to receive from you this afternoon, to the noble lord from whom I yesterday received my credentials; and as yesterday gave birth, I conclude this day has put a period, to my glory and achievements in this new occupation. I am, Sir,

Your ever faithful and obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL. (1)

GEORGE ONSLOW, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Curzon Street, Friday morning,
March 7, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

HEARING at your house in Bond-street⁽²⁾, that you were not particularly expected there to-day, we are apprehensive that you may not know it is the day for considering the cider petitions, and proposing the bill. Imagining that you would choose to be present, and knowing the consequence it is of that you should, I could not help taking the liberty of informing you of it, at Mr.

(1) Mr. Gerard Hamilton, in a letter of this date to Mr. Calcraft, says: — "His Majesty is said to have treated with great coolness, all his servants who voted for the repeal. Grenville and the Duke of Bedford's people continue to oppose in every stage, the passage of the bill; which looks as if they were satisfied that what they did was far from being disagreeable at court. Your particular friends look, I think, particularly cheerful; and the reports of the day are, that Mr. Pitt will go into the House of Lords, and form an arrangement, which he will countenance."

(2) Now the Clarendon Hotel. It belonged at this time to the Duke of Grafton, who had let it to Mr. Pitt.

Dowdeswell's desire, and hope this will reach you early enough to enable you to get up to town in time, and without any inconvenience or hurry.

The American bill, or rather the British bill, met yesterday with not quite so civil a reception as such a bill, so carried in our House, and so conveyed as it was by a hundred and fifty members to the other House, did, in my opinion, deserve.⁽¹⁾ However, I believe there is good reason to think,

(1) The bill was carried up to the Lords by above two hundred members of the House of Commons. According to the Annual Register, "the éclat with which it was introduced in the upper house did not prevent its meeting with a strong opposition there. Thirty-three lords entered a protest against it, at the second reading; as did twenty-eight at the third. It was, however, carried through by a majority of thirty-four lords, and, in three days after, received the royal assent; an event that caused more universal joy, throughout the British dominions, than perhaps any other that can be remembered."

On the 17th of the month, Lord Chesterfield, in a letter to his son, says: — "The repeal of the Stamp-act is at last carried. I am glad of it, and gave my proxy for it; because I saw many more inconveniences from the enforcing, than from the repealing it. You will probably wonder that I tell you nothing of public matters; upon which I shall be as secret as Hotspur's gentle Kate, who would not tell what she did not know; but what is singular, nobody seems to know any more of them than I do. People gape, stare, conjecture, and rejoice. Changes of the ministry, or in the ministry, at least, are daily reported and foretold; but, of what kind, God only knows. It is also very doubtful whether Mr. Pitt will come into the administration or not; the two present secretaries are extremely desirous that he should; but the others think of the horse that called the man to its assistance. I will say nothing to you about American affairs, because I have not pens, ink, or paper enough to give you an intelligible account of them. They have been the subjects of warm and acrimonious debates, both in the Lords and Commons, and in all companies."

that a little abuse is all the harm they can do it ; and *that*, both the bill and its advocates can stand. To-day it is to be read a second time, and will be, I hear, thoroughly debated ; I mean as much as such a question will admit of.

I hope you are not the worse for your fatigue, on Tuesday. The seeing you are not so to-day, will give infinite pleasure to your friends in the House of Commons, and particularly to him who has the honour to be, most respectfully, dear Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

GEO. ONSLOW.

VISCOUNT BARRINGTON TO MR. PITT.

Cavendish Square, March 22, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

YOU may possibly recollect, that not long after you had resigned the seals, you desired me (not as chancellor of the exchequer, but as an old friend and acquaintance) to assist you in providing for a gentleman, whose name I have forgotten, but who married a dowager Lady Aylmer. This person had received great damage in his property when the rebels were in Scotland ; he had done good service, and had good claims, as appeared by authentic vouchers which he had left with you when you were secretary of state, but which were unfortunately and unaccountably lost. You there-

fore wished him some provision through me. I never was able to offer him any thing but the collectorship of Guadeloupe ; which he, for good reasons, declined. I then promised you, that if hereafter I could ever offer him any thing worth his acceptance I would do it ; a circumstance I have never forgotten, though my remembrance was of no use till this moment.

I have just received an account, that the commissary of stores at Gibraltar is dead. The employment is a clear four hundred a year or more to the principal, residing in England, and it is in the recommendation of the war-office. Allow me to inquire whether your protégé be alive, and willing to accept it with your permission ?

I make this offer in consequence of my promise, and of the honour you did me when you mentioned the thing to me : but I make it, as you asked my assistance, without the least political consideration ; as privately loving and honouring you, but putting all considerations of every other kind entirely out of the question. I must however do myself the justice to add, that if this employment be given to a man who has your good wishes, the disposal will make me as happy as it does him. I am, with most affectionate respect,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

most obedient servant,

BARRINGTON.

VISCOUNT BARRINGTON TO MR. PITT.

Cavendish Square, March 28, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received two most obliging notes from Hayes, expressing much more acknowledgment than I deserve, for remembering and obeying your commands concerning Mr. Fisher. (1) I need not remind you, that right actions bear their own reward, and lose their value when they have any other object; but your kind and friendly acceptance of my endeavours to serve a worthy man recommended by you, produces additionally the most real satisfaction and pleasure. The generosity of your mind always inclines you to allow greater merit than can be claimed. If, therefore, you will not agree that I am already amply rewarded, the most pleasing and effectual means of expressing further acknowledgment can never be wanting, while any person who has your good wishes may be assisted by me.

I am, with the most affectionate respect, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and

most obedient servant,

BARRINGTON.

(1) Robert Fisher, Esq. He married the widow of Sir Gerald Aylmer. She was the daughter of admiral Sir John Norris, who died in 1749, after having seen nearly sixty years of active and honourable service.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday morning [March—, 1766.]

SIR,

REST and quiet are so necessary to the establishment of your health, that I could not prevail upon myself to break in upon them, although I should have been very glad to have inquired of you, in person, after the state of it, had it been proper.

I saw Mr. Walpole this morning; who desired me to tell you, that Lord John Cavendish ⁽¹⁾, Mr. Townshend, father ⁽²⁾ and son ⁽³⁾, and

⁽¹⁾ Lord John Cavendish was the fourth son of William, third duke of Devonshire. At this time, he was member for Knaresborough, and one of the lords of the treasury. In 1782, he was, for a few months, chancellor of the exchequer; and again, in the following year. He died, unmarried, in 1796.

⁽²⁾ The hon. Thomas Townshend, second son of the second viscount Townshend; at this time member for the university of Cambridge, which he represented in six successive parliaments. Early in life, he entered into the secretary of state's office, under his father, whom he accompanied in his journeys to Germany, with George the First and Second. In 1727, he succeeded to one of the tellerships of the exchequer; and, in 1739, was appointed chief secretary to the Duke of Devonshire, lord-lieutenant of Ireland; but did not proceed thither, in consequence, of the death of his wife. He was one of the most elegant scholars of his age. He died, in his seventy-ninth year, in May 1780.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Thomas Townshend, was at this time member for Whitchurch, and one of the lords of the treasury. In 1782, he was appointed one of the principal secretaries of state; which he resigned in April 1783, but was re-appointed in December, and held the situation till 1789. In 1783, he was created baron Sydney, and, in 1789, was further advanced to the dignity of viscount Sydney. He died in 1800. Mr. Gibbon, in a letter

Mr. Fitzherbert, dined with him at Hayes yesterday; that they expressed themselves with great regard towards you, and said that they foresaw alterations must be, and hoped these would be moderate, and made as little disgusting as might be, and particularly as respecting the Duke of Newcastle: Lord John said, he hoped, as he was to be laid aside, it might be on a bed of roses, not on a bed of thorns. Mr. Walpole thinks he sees a good disposition in the old Whigs of his acquaintance towards such measures as you may think necessary. I am, Sir,

Your ever faithful and

obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL.

to Mr. Holroyd, written in February 1772, relates the following amusing anecdote: — "To-day the House of Commons was employed in a very odd way. Tommy Townshend moved, that the sermon of Dr. Nowell, who preached before the House on the 30th of January (*id est*, before the Speaker and four members), should be burnt by the common hangman, as containing arbitrary, Tory high-flown doctrines. The House was nearly agreeing to the motion, till they recollected that they had already thanked the preacher for his excellent discourse, and ordered it to be printed. Nowell's bookseller is much obliged to the right honourable Tommy Townshend." It appears however, by the Journals, that the thanks to the Doctor were ordered to be expunged therefrom; and on the 2d of March, Mr. Frederick Montagu moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the observance of that day altogether; which was rejected by 125 to 97.

SIR ANDREW MITCHELL⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Pall-Mall, April 11, 1766.

SIR,

As Lord Cardross is so obliging as to promise to deliver this letter into your own hands, I shall write with the greater freedom. Ever since my return from Berlin, I have languished for an opportunity of seeing you alone, as well to have returned you my most sincere thanks for your goodness and great indulgence to me, whilst you were minister, and this country flourished, as to have acquainted you with many things that passed during my mission to the Hero King, your friend; who speaks of you, on every occasion, with the strongest expressions of esteem and gratitude.

After having been recalled, somewhat abruptly, in the month of June last, I was invited by the present ministers to accept of a new commission to the King of Prussia, and accordingly was named

(¹) In the preceding December, this excellent man and faithful public servant had been created a knight of the bath. He died at Berlin in 1771, leaving a most valuable collection of letters, written from and to him, from his arrival at Berlin in 1756 (with the exception of one or two years) until the period of his death. By an able report, drawn up by Sir Henry Ellis in 1826, it appears that this collection was purchased by the trustees of the British Museum, in March 1810, of Sir William Forbes, for four hundred pounds; immediately after which, it being understood that George the Third had expressed a wish that they might not see the light, in a published form, during his own reign, they were ordered to be locked up and entrusted to the care of Mr. Planta only. They are now bound up in sixty-eight volumes.

by his Majesty, his minister plenipotentiary. I must, however, on this occasion fairly tell you, in confidence, the principal motive that induced me to accept of this honourable commission was, that I hoped to have received my instructions from you. I am disappointed; the public are disappointed: they wished and expected to see you once more a minister, to render this country respectable abroad, and quiet at home.

The day of my departure is fixed for the 28th of this month. Your state of health, and the situation of public affairs, have prevented my having the happiness of having any conversation with you. Though I have called often at your door in town, I would not presume to intrude upon you in your retirement; I therefore give you this trouble to desire to know when and where I can have the honour of seeing you with the least inconvenience to yourself. My time is entirely at your disposal, and I am persuaded the first question that will be put to me by the King of Prussia, will be, "when did you see Mr. Pitt, my faithful and steady friend?" &c., &c., &c. In such circumstances, you will pardon the liberty I now take; which affords me the pleasure of assuring you, that I shall ever have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most obliged and

most humble servant,

ANDR. MITCHELL.

MR. PITT TO SIR ANDREW MITCHELL.

Hayes, Sunday night, April 13, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS honoured yesterday with your very obliging letter, and am truly sensible of the kind marks of friendship which it contains. The partial retrospect you are so good as to make is not a little flattering to me; nor is the expectation you had the friendly disposition to form on my subject, less so. I must not allow myself to think the public receive any disappointment, on that score: enough for me to be indulged in the vanity of believing that you, my dear Sir, have not been without some degree of regret on the occasion. I will only add, with regard to this matter, that it was all along evident to me, that all expectations of the kind you allude to, never had a *real* foundation; and had it been my good fortune to have had an opportunity of conversing freely with you, no part of the delusion would have reached you.

I propose being in town to-morrow, and shall, with very particular satisfaction, profit of the leave you are so good as to give me, to propose an hour for the honour and pleasure of seeing you. In the mean time, I will trouble you no farther than to assure you of the invincible and great consideration with which I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and
affectionate humble servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

PRINCE CHARLES OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

Douvres, ce 12^e d'Avril, 1766.

MONSIEUR,

JE profite des derniers momens qui me restent en Angleterre pour vous dire mes adieux, et pour vous prier de me continuer l'honneur de votre souvenir.

Après avoir fait une tournée en France et en Italie, je compte, si aucun accident ne m'arrive, de vous rendre mes devoirs à l'assemblée du Parlement de l'année prochaine, et de vous renouveler alors de bouche les sentimens d'estime et de haute considération, avec lesquelles je serai jusqu'à la fin de mes jours, Monsieur, votre très humble, et très obéissant serviteur.

CHARLES,
PRINCE HÉRÉDITAIRE DE BRUNSWIC.

VISCOUNT TOWNSHEND⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Audley Square, April 21, 1766.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to call at your door, to thank you for the justice you did me in your sentiments of my intentions towards the militia, when my

⁽¹⁾ The hon. George Townshend. See Vol. I. p. 181. He had succeeded to the peerage, on the death of his father, in 1764.

name was the other day, to my great surprise, thought worthy to be introduced into debate by Mr. Onslow, or Mr. Thomas Townshend.⁽¹⁾

I ever had too convincing proofs of the aversion of a particular party to this national establishment, to doubt of their overturning it the very first opportunity; and, from what I heard this year of their gracious regulations, and the reluctance for a long time of the treasury to propose the usual estimate, I could not but conclude that, unless some auspicious event again interposed, they would judge this no unfavourable period, either totally to crush it, or give it such a stab as would as fully answer their purpose.

At length, however, after a thorough disavowal of militia, on the part of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Onslow was prevailed on to undertake the estimate; so that from this time it was hoped, that the intentions of abolishing the annual exercise, which I apprehend was the principal kind of regulation the government had in view, was laid aside for this year.

I am anxious, Sir, that my conduct may stand in the clearest light upon a measure, in which I had the honour of seconding you; and as I have ever esteemed it one of the greatest honours of my little trifling page to have been among the advocates of that truly great and constitutional

(¹) This debate has not been preserved; but it appears by the Journals of the House of Commons, that 150,000*l.* were voted, towards defraying the expense of the militia for the year 1766.

establishment, to which the nation owes, in some degree, its high pitch of glory, and from which it may henceforth derive great stability, if it be blest with ministers who shall be wise and honest enough to prefer public and generous principles to party affections and the little jealousies of a court.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your most faithful humble servant,
TOWNSHEND.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

Sunday night, near 11.
[May 4, 1766.]

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

My company has but just left me, and I am tired to death. News from court differs much from the intelligence of last night. Lord Northumberland lamented there to Lord Coventry, Mr. Pitt's being gone to Bath; that things would be settled in the wrong way, unless he again made his appearance, &c. Lord Harcourt is gone out of town this evening, and Jenkinson with him, who came to take leave of George Grenville this morning, and is to set out upon a foreign tour at the end of the week. Lord Rockingham and Dowdeswell caressed by the King at court beyond expression. In short, the darkness grows thicker and thicker.

My whole company agree in thinking no change will be made, unless in consequence of some as yet unforeseen event. Lord Bute distressed to the last degree ; adverse, yet not daring to take so decided a part against the present powers, as his inclinations prompt and interests require. In all events, I am most happy in what has passed, at every interview of ours ; which tend all still more to increase towards you the love and esteem of, my dear Lady Chatham,

Your most truly affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

Many kind compliments and brotherly good-will attend Mr. Pitt. A good journey to you. I shall see you, as I mentioned, at Burton. No secretary of state named⁽¹⁾ ; nor do they now pretend to guess who will be the chosen vessel. Lord Hertford has secured, I think, three reversions in Ireland for his sons. The Queen most exceedingly gracious to Lady Temple and Mrs. Henry Grenville. The King not remarkable any way.

(1) On the 6th of May, the Duke of Richmond accepted the seals of secretary of state, vacant by the resignation of the Duke of Grafton. Lord Chesterfield says, "when his grace quitted the seals, they were offered first to Lord Egmont, then to Lord Hardwicke, who both declined them ; but after their going a begging for some time, the Duke of Richmond begged them, and has them *faute de mieux* !"

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, May 5, 1766.

MY dearest life will be glad to see under my hand, that I am safe at my journey's end. It was only an airing from Hayes hither. I lay at Speenham lands, and dined here with ease; am now in my old corner at Mrs. Griffith's. The country all the way was delightful, but with all its verdure, nothing so pleasing to my eye, as poor old Hayes; perhaps not Hayes itself, but what I left there.

When will you come? Not till business is done; the sooner after that, the happier for the wanderer, who, with all the waters of these copious springs, will not wash away for a moment the memory of parting, nor the wish of meeting. I trust Wednesday will bring me a letter, and every thing good; upon which pleasing hope, I shall live,

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT. (1)

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Bath, May 7, 1766.

MY DEAREST LIFE,

THE sight of your hand and the contents of your wished-for letter have made my day happy,

(1) Lady Chatham says, in her answer to the above, "Every minute between this and Monday is more than filled up, and they tell me I MUST stay longer. I adopt your rule, 'that nothing is impossible,' and so remain fixed."

absence excepted, and some anxiety for William. The exceptions are indeed not small, but hope of approaching meeting, and of a better account next post of our loved boy, are sweeteners of the present lot. I am quite delighted with the first fruits of little Mr. Secretary's pen. Pray tell him so, and encourage all to write to me; it will do them good, and give papa pleasure.

I hope my letter of Monday will have been with you to-day, as I know the contents will not be uninteresting to you. I am ashamed to find myself so well, and not sweating in St. Stephen's chapel. I never bore a journey so well. Was it that I turned my back upon the little tricks of childish men, and was rapidly borne towards the depths of Somersetshire, by an "alacrity at sinking" into retreat, to borrow Falstaff's phrase? I could with ease post all the world over, provided always it was to fly from such a world.

Your loving husband,

W. PITT.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Crosby Square, May 8, 1766.

SIR,

I HOPE this will meet you at Bath, in perfect health; which it will give me great pleasure to hear. Mr. Beckford has treated the House of

Commons every day this week, and I may say, until night too, with his evidence relative to the alterations of the duties, free port, &c. I should tell you, that Mr. Nugent⁽¹⁾ insists on bringing the question of free port before the House now, whatever inclination the Treasury bench may have to defer it till another session ; so that matter may probably come to be decided before the House rises.

All other politics I forbear to meddle with ; but it makes but a ghastly appearance, on the part of the directors of the political machine, when, in a question of such importance as that now before the House, concerning the American duties, free port, &c., only seventy members could be found to attend their duty. Mr. Beckford, on Monday, put a

(1) The right hon. Robert Nugent, at this time member for Bristol. In 1754, he was appointed a lord of the treasury ; in 1759, one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland ; and in December 1766, a lord of trade. In 1767, he was created baron Nugent, and viscount Clare ; and in 1776, earl Nugent. He is described as a man of parts, a poet, and a facetious companion. A volume of his poems, entitled, "Odes and Epistles," was published anonymously in 1739, and several of his pieces are to be found in Dodsley's collection, and in the New Foundling Hospital for Wit. He was the friend of Goldsmith ; who addressed his "Haunch of Venison" to him. He was thrice married ; his second wife being the sister and heiress of secretary Craggs, by whom he acquired a large fortune. His only daughter married the first Marquis of Buckingham, on whose second son the title of Baron Nugent devolved. He died in 1788. Lord Dover says, "he seems to have passed his long life in seeking lucrative places, and courting rich widows ; in both of which pursuits he was eminently successful."

question, for Mr. Fuller to leave the chair, and divided the House : for the question, the numbers were twenty eight ; against it fifty, or some such number.⁽¹⁾ I am, with the most perfect respect, Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Bath, Sunday, May 11, 1766.

DEAR NUTHALL,

YOU will imagine I was not a little disappointed and vexed to hear my cause was put off. The law's will be done. Next to the "insolence of office," as Shakspeare has it, the "law's delay" is certainly the greatest plague of society ; but we will hope for better things from your un-lawyer-

(¹) The measures taken, in this session, for extending and promoting the trade and manufactures of the country, are thus summed up by Mr. Burke, in his *Short Account of a Short Administration* : — "The trade of America was set free from injudicious and ruinous impositions ; its revenue was improved and settled upon a rational foundation ; its commerce extended with foreign countries ; while all the advantages were secured to Great Britain, by 'the act for repealing certain duties, and encouraging, regulating, and securing the trade of this kingdom, and the British dominions in America.' Materials were provided and insured to our manufactures ; the sale of these manufactures was increased ; the African trade preserved and extended ; and the principles of the act of navigation pursued, and the plan improved, by 'the act for opening certain ports in Dominica and Jamaica.'"

like zeal for your friend ; whose impatience you are not quite a stranger to, any time these twenty years ; and with which you have many times kept some tolerable pace. Pray send me word soon that my cause is over ; won or lost, I do not prescribe ! ⁽¹⁾

American evidence will have sweated the House finely ; though the cool attendance will have mitigated the sultry hours of investigation. As to molasses, I have little to say : I think a penny best. As to Dominica, nothing is so clear you ought to attend to the very beneficial cotton-manufacture ⁽²⁾ ; but, for that very reason, you ought, in all policy, to supply the first material, cotton, yourselves, and not render the basis of such a lucrative manufacture dependant on France, or the first rupture. Nothing so demonstrated, as that our British possessions will, with proper regulations, supply all the cotton wanted, in twice nine months, and our own sugar colonies be saved from being sacrificed to a speculative project. I

⁽¹⁾ The heirs at law of Sir William Pynsent disputed the validity of his will. After numerous delays, unhappily but too common in similar cases, the cause was argued before the master of the rolls, and, after three days' hearing, was decided in favour of Mr. Pitt, on the 27th of June.

⁽²⁾ At the time Mr. Pitt was penning this letter, cotton, as an article of commerce, was scarcely known in this country ; the entire value of all the cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain, at the accession of George the Third, being estimated to amount to only two hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. In 1782, the whole produce of the cotton manufacture did not exceed two millions sterling ; while, in the year 1837, the quantity of the raw material imported into this country exceeded *three hundred millions* of pounds !

hope to hear this unsolid idea of a free port is quite rejected and exploded.

I find the waters do well enough, and hope to receive benefit by continuing to drink them. I count, however, the days here, longing to be at Pynsent, where I hope to see you somehow or other, when affairs of state permit you. Believe me always, dear Nuthall,

Most faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Thursday night, 11 o'clock.
[May 29, 1766.]

SIR,

WHEN I wrote to you from Hayes this afternoon, I did not know what had happened in the House of Lords yesterday, on the reading of the window-tax bill. I am told the Duke of Grafton declared his reasons for his resignation; which were, not that the office was too fatiguing to him, but that he thought the administration wanted authority, dignity, and extension; that he accepted the office he had quitted, upon a generally received idea, that you, to whom the nation was more indebted than to any minister who had ever lived in it, and who had raised it to the pitch of glory it had lately enjoyed, would become a part of the administration,

for the public good ; that you were willing so to do, *but it was not approved of* ; that without you, there was not safety to the public, &c., &c. ; and said, that although he had held one of the first offices in the state, which, for the reasons given by him, he had quitted, yet were you to give your assistance, and to become a part of any administration to be formed with your concurrence, he should with pleasure *take up the spade and the pick-axe, and dig in the trenches*, and should be proud to hold any office whatever with you. I am, from good authority, assured, this was the substance of his Grace's speech, which I dare say you will not be displeased with my communicating to you.⁽¹⁾ I am,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

T. NUTHALL.

(¹) The deranged condition of the ministry, at the beginning of June, is thus depicted by Lord Chesterfield : — "What account shall I give you of ministerial affairs here ? I protest I do not know. It is a total dislocation and derangement ; consequently a total inefficiency. When the Duke of Grafton quitted the seals, he gave that very reason for it, in a speech in the House of Lords : he declared, 'that he had no objection to the persons or to the measures of the present ministers ; but that he thought they wanted strength and efficiency to carry on proper measures with success, and that he knew but one man' (meaning, as you may easily suppose, Mr. Pitt) 'who could give them that strength and solidity ; that under this person, he should be willing to serve in any capacity, not only as a general officer, but as a pioneer, and would take up a spade and mattock. To tell you the speculations, the reasonings, and the conjectures even of the best-informed public, upon the present wonderful situation of affairs, would take up more time than I can afford."

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, June 1, 1766.

DEAR NUTHALL,

You will not wonder that I begin first with your last letter, namely, your supplement of eleven at night; for though I am *buried* deep in Somersetshire, I am not *dead*; consequently not insensible to the things you tell me. I am, indeed, most proud of the honour the Duke of Grafton has done me. The testimony is genuine, not the result of cabal; and dignity and spirit of character meeting with high rank, add every flattering circumstance to the favourable suffrage with which his Grace has been pleased to distinguish his humble servant.

Now for Hayes, and its truly respectable possessor. I beg my most cordial compliments to him, and am happy to hear he finds pleasure and satisfaction in his purchase.⁽¹⁾ The deeds will come safe by the Taunton flying machine, directed for me at Burton Pynsent. Enclosed is the history of the said flying machine.⁽²⁾

I left Bath somewhat abruptly, on account of a troublesome cough, brought upon me by an incautious use of the waters; but the air of this hill

(¹) Mr. Pitt had recently disposed of Hayes to his friend, Mr. Thomas Walpole.†

(²) It is stated, in "Toulmin's History of Taunton," that this *flying* machine "did not finish its journey in less than four days." It is now accomplished in fifteen hours.

and my horse have quite set me up again. Believe me always, with truth and affection, dear Nuthall,

Most faithfully yours, &c.,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ.

Burton Pynsent, June 17, 1766.

DEAR NUTHALL.

The flying machine, which sets out from Taunton to-morrow, carries the deeds relating to Hayes, all executed ; which I hope will come safe to your hands * * * *.

I rejoice, my dear Nuthall, at the good order your vigour has established in Enfield Chase, and at the fair hopes of timber for future navies ; or at least for some pretty purposes or other. After saving the woods of that lawless wild, what is too hard for you ? Go on and prosper ; and believe me ever,

Very affectionately yours,

WILLIAM PITT.

THOMAS NUTHALL, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

London, June 21, 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE the favour of your letter of the 17th * * *. I perceive you can suppose the oak timber of Enfield Chase to be applied to other purposes,

besides the building of the noble bulwarks of this kingdom, ships of war. The truth is, it has not been fit for those uses yet, but I hope I shall leave behind me innumerable proofs, that with care and common honesty in office, the fleets of this land may be supplied from the King's forests and chases only. I had rather this should be written on my monument, than any one compliment that can be given to the last peace.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
your faithful and obedient servant,
T. NUTHALL.⁽¹⁾

(¹) On the back of this letter, there is the following memorandum, in the hand-writing of Mr. Nuthall's son:—
“On Mr. Nuthall's being appointed ranger of Enfield Chase, it was proposed by him to reserve all the oak timber growing there, for the use of the British navy, and annually to plant fifty thousand young oaks in quincunxes, or ground plantations, prepared so as in time to have covered *all* Enfield Chase with a nursery of oaks, solely for the purpose of ship-building, and yearly to cut down the timber then growing, as it was judged good and fit for naval purposes—the bark, limbs, and cuttings to be entirely applied to, or for, the sole purpose and profit of government. This scheme of national benefit and profit was ultimately done away, by the decease of Mr. Nuthall in March, 1775; subsequently to which year, the Chase was sold in lots, and inclosed, whereby the proposed plan was annihilated, and the certain supply of timber for the navy lost. In 1765 and 1766 a notorious lawless gang of deer-stealers and timber-stealers infested all Enfield Chase, and set the ranger and his keepers at defiance: many conflicts ensued—many lives were lost; but ultimately they were ousted, and the ringleader—made a game-keeper!”

LORD CARDROSS (1) TO MR. PITT.

Walcot, near Bath, June 19, 1766.

ACCEPT, my dear Sir, from a friend who has the most unfeigned affection and respect for you, these few lines ; in return for which, all I ask is to have the honour of a card from yourself or Lady Chatham, to inform me how your most valuable health has been since you left Bath. My dear father has been greatly indisposed of late, and is at present confined to his bed by a fever. His brother-in-law, Sir James Steuart⁽²⁾, has been with him, — an

(1) David Stewart Erskine, afterwards eleventh earl of Buchan. In the following November, the Earl of Chatham appointed him secretary to Sir James Gray*, our ambassador to the court of Madrid ; but, though duly gazetted, he declined to proceed, because Sir James was a person of inferior rank. For a discussion of the principle, which took place between Dr. Johnson and Sir Alexander Macdonald, see Boswell, vol. iii. p. 211. ed. 1835. On the death of his father, which took place in the following year, he retired to Scotland, and devoted his life to the cultivation of literature, and the encouragement of literary men. His principal works were, an *Essay on the Lives and Writings of Fletcher of Saltoun* and the poet Thomson, and a *Life of Napier of Merchiston*. He died at Dryburgh Abbey in 1829, at the age of eighty-seven ; and was succeeded by his nephew, Henry David, the present earl, eldest son of the witty and accomplished Henry Erskine.

(2) Sir James Steuart of Coltness was the son of Sir James Steuart, solicitor-general for Scotland, under Queen Anne and George the First. In early life he made the tour of the Con-

* Horace Walpole states, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, that Sir James's father was at first a box-keeper, and then a footman to James the Second.

unfortunate person, by one false step taken, even against his true principles, very early in life, but a man of consummate sagacity, great experience, and profound learning. He is about to present to the republic of letters next winter a work of great utility, which has cost him twenty years' application, upon the principles of Political Economy. I have perused part of it, and I know it will afford Mr. Pitt great pleasure, and me great instruction.

This ingenious uncle of mine told me one day in conversation, that after having lived fifty years, and gone through almost all the geographical and literary world, three things only had surmounted his most sanguine expectations, — the amphi-

continent, and at Rome received such civilities from Prince Charles, as had a material effect upon the tenor of his future life. In 1745, he renewed his connection with the Pretender; but being despatched on a mission to the French court, he escaped the ultimate perils of the campaign. The penalty of his rashness was an exile of eighteen years. At the peace of 1763, he was tacitly permitted to return home, and resume possession of his estates; and in 1772, he received his full pardon. (See vol. i. p. 214.) His "Inquiry into the Principles of Political Economy" appeared in 1767, in two volumes quarto. Besides this, he published, "A Plan for introducing an Uniformity of Weights and Measures," — "Observations on Beattie's Essay on Truth," — "Critical Remarks on the Atheistical Falsehoods of Mirabeau's System of Nature," — and "A Dissertation concerning the Motive of Obedience to the Law of God." An inflammation, commencing with a toe-nail too nearly cut, put an end to his valuable life in 1780. His works, with a memoir, were published in six volumes 8vo., in 1806, by his son, the present Sir James Stuart.

theatre at Verona, the church of St. Peter's at Rome, and Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons.

A brother of mine ⁽¹⁾ is just arrived from our colonies of East and West Florida, and gives me but a very unfavourable account of the capabilities of those countries. He brought me likewise a curious account of a negro conqueror, who has subdued a great part of Africa lying near our settlements, and has occasioned the building of our new fort on that coast. He carries eight Arabic secretaries, who record his feats in that language. My brother has also conversed with Commodore Byron's officers, and confirms the accounts of the Patagonian giants. ⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ This brother was the hon. Thomas Erskine, the future lord high chancellor of England. He was born in 1748, and at a very early age was allowed to enter the naval service as a midshipman. After a service of four years, he quitted the navy, and entered the army as an ensign. "On Monday, April 6, 1772," says Boswell, "I dined with Dr. Johnson at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, where was a young officer in the regimentals of the Scots Royal, who talked with a vivacity, fluency, and precision so uncommon, that he attracted particular notice. He proved to be the honourable Thomas Erskine, who has since risen into such brilliant reputation at the bar in Westminster-hall. He told us, that when he was in the island of Minorca, he not only read prayers, but preached two sermons to the regiment."

⁽²⁾ Commodore Byron had just returned to England from his disastrous voyage round the world. His "Narrative of his Sufferings on the Coast of Patagonia" appeared in 1768. To his proverbial ill-luck his illustrious grandson alludes, in his beautiful Epistle to his Sister —

"A strange doom is thy father's son's, and past
Recalling, as it lies beyond redress;
Revers'd for him our Grandsire's fate of yore —
He had no rest at sea, nor I on shore."

I was much delighted by the accounts of the Duke of Grafton's spirited apology in the House of Lords. It appears to me to have been such a testimony as I should have wished to have given in that assembly. I am, with the most sincere regard and respect,

Your most faithful and
obedient servant,
CARDROSS.

GENERAL BURGoyNE⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Pay-office, Whitehall, June 27, 1766.

SIR,

IN addressing myself to you, I am aware how commonly it is the error of a sanguine temper to

(¹) In 1762, general Burgoyne acted as brigadier-general of the British forces sent out for the defence of Portugal against France and Spain. At this time, he was member for Midhurst, and in 1768 was chosen for Preston, which town he represented during five successive parliaments. In 1775, he was appointed to a command in America; and in 1777, distinguished himself by the capture of Ticonderoga, but was afterwards compelled to surrender to General Gates, at Saratoga. "Dreadful news indeed!" writes Gibbon to Mr. Holroyd, on the 4th of December, "an English army of nearly ten thousand men laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war. They had fought bravely, and were three days without eating: Burgoyne is said to have received three wounds." In 1779, he was dismissed the service, for refusing to return to America, pursuant to the terms of his convention, by which he did not consider himself bound in honour to abide; but in 1782, he was restored to his rank, appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland, and sworn of the privy-council. He married Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of Edward, eleventh Earl of Derby; and died at an advanced age, in 1792. Besides some pamphlets, in defence of his public conduct, he wrote several popular dramatic pieces.

overlook, in the eagerness of expectation, the pretensions upon which the expectation is founded; but, overpowered by my own zeal and confident in your candour, I presume to lay before you a design I am about to execute, and with a due sense of the honour I solicit, to make my very humble suit to you, for a mark of your favour.

I have long thought that the most desirable employment for a soldier, next to that of serving under great men with a participation of their councils, was to visit the scenes where extraordinary military talents have been exerted. Men of genius in their profession, like the poet or the orator, will catch the ideas and the style of the works they study, with this advantage which the closet cannot afford, that the presence of objects where signal transactions have passed sets every circumstance of them before the eyes, and leaves an indelible impression upon the mind. Those of an inferior cast, and who like me must fail of high attainments, have at least in such contemplation the consciousness of a good intention, and reap delight with an effort towards utility.

Upon this principle, Sir, I have obtained his Majesty's consent, to take a view of the theatre of the late war in Germany. In the course of my progress, I shall probably have an opportunity to

His comedy of "The Heiress," which appeared in 1786, obtained for him a flattering notice in the 'Baviad and Mæviad'—

"Burgoyne, perhaps, unchill'd by creeping age,
May yet arise, and vindicate the stage;
The reign of nature and of sense restore,
And be whatever Terence was before."

pay my respects to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick; and I am inexpressibly earnest in my ambition to carry an introduction to the first general of the age, from the statesman under whose auspices he conquered. In this part of the world, as in every other, the most honourable credential an Englishman, in my opinion, can carry about him is a testimony of being thought worthy of the countenance of the first citizen of his country, — by whose councils she was retrieved, when sinking in debility and despondency, and rose to a state of strength and glory, by as rapid a progress as that whereby, since his withdrawing, her credit and her powers have declined. This sort of pride, Sir, has long been so near my heart, that I have seldom thought of my regiment being raised under your protection, without finding it imposing upon my understanding; and I have been very apt to consider a measure of government as a mark of personal patronage.

I could add, Sir, a long strain of professions, without deviating from sincerity. I might expatiate on the diffidence I have felt, almost amounting to self-reproach, when from the compulsion of my mind, I have differed from you in parliament; and on the pride with which, under another conviction, I should have faced the frowns or persecution of men in power to be enrolled among your friends. But my design was only so far to express the profound respect I bear you, as to make my request for your recommendation

to Prince Ferdinand pertinent; and if I have troubled you beyond those bounds, I intreat you, Sir, to impute what I have written to the overflow of my heart. I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

J. BURGoyNE.⁽¹⁾

PRINCE FERDINAND OF BRUNSWICK TO MR. PITT.

'A Veielde, ce 30^e Juin, 1766.

MONSIEUR,

CE n'est pas parmi les moindres avantages que j'ai remporté durant ma vie publique, que je compte le suffrage dont vous m'avez honoré : maintenant particulier, je le désire avec le même empressement de Monsieur Pitt particulier. C'est ce qui ne me permet point de laisser ignorer à votre Excellence le parti qu'après bien de reflexions j'ai pris, de me retirer du service de sa Majesté Prussienne. ⁽¹⁾

Après vingt-six ans d'attachement personnel,

⁽¹⁾ Prince Ferdinand, in a letter to Mr. Pitt, of the 3d of August says :—" J'ai été bien flatté de recevoir de M. le Général Burgoyne la lettre dont votre Excellence l'a chargé pour moi. Je connoissois M. Burgoyne par la belle réputation qu'il s'est acquis en Portugal ; mon estime pour lui ne peut qu'augmenter par le suffrage que M. Pitt lui accorde, et je suis très charmé d'avoir cette occasion de le lui marquer personnellement."

⁽²⁾ The causes which induced the Prince to take this step will be found detailed in the following letter from Sir Andrew Mitchell to Mr. Conway, dated Berlin, 12th of July —

" As I know the friendship and high value you have for Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, I take the liberty to acquaint you, in confidence, with some particulars which I learn, con-

j'aurois peut-être dû être dispensé de faire un pareil pas ; mais votre Excellence sait, aussi bien

cerning the unhappy differences that now subsist between him and the King of Prussia, and which, it is said, have occasioned that Prince's resigning all his employments under that monarch. At the last review near Magdeburg, the Prince's regiment was found fault with, as is said, by the misrepresentation of the quarter-master general. This occasioned some words between the Prince and him, and the quarter-master general wrote a most impertinent letter, amounting to a challenge, to the Prince ; which he answered in a satisfactory manner, and sent copies of both letters to the King, desiring the proper notice might be taken of the affront offered him, and at the same time resigning all the employments he held under the King of Prussia.

" To this letter no answer was given ; which provoked the Prince to write a second letter to the same purpose, in which he persisted in his resolution of retiring from the service. I am not certain whether the King of Prussia has answered this second letter, and accepted of the resignation ; but the affair has gone so far, that it is believed it cannot be made up. I still, however, have some faint hopes it may, as they are both lively, and have often quarrelled before. I cannot answer for the accuracy of the above particulars, having had no correspondence with Prince Ferdinand ; but I believe them nearly true ; and it gives me real satisfaction to find, that the King of Prussia's conduct in this affair is universally blamed by his own subjects of all ranks. One thing I am heartily sorry for ; which is, that the Prince, who has so greatly signalised himself in the field during the last war, will, by this resignation of his employments, be left in very narrow circumstances ; for I have good reason to believe, that he did not enrich himself by plunder, as his enemies have falsely and maliciously given out.

" It now remains that I should acquaint you who this quarter-master general is. His name was Wilhelmi, and he is said to be a bastard son of Gustavus, the eldest son of the last reigning Prince of Anhalt Dessau. He was bred up in the lowest manner, and came into the King of Prussia's service in 1757. His Prussian Majesty, finding him active and capable of detail, has made him quarter-master general, with the rank of

que moi, que les services rendus ne disposent pas tous les esprits à l'amitié. J'ai mieux aimé céder pour me soustraire à l'envie, que tâcher de la combattre plus longtems en vain. Je suis, Monsieur, de votre Excellence, &c.

FERDINAND,
DUC DE BRUNSWIC ET DE LÜNEBOURG.

THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON TO MR. PITT.⁽¹⁾

London, July 7, 1766.

SIR,

I HAVE the King's command, to convey to you his Majesty's note enclosed; and as I am no stranger

colonel. This sudden rise has turned his head; so that he behaves with insolence to every body, and has disgusted many good officers, is hated by the whole army, and has already enriched himself by corruption." — In a letter of the 16th, Sir Andrew says, — "From the steps taken since my last, I absolutely despair of the difference between the King of Prussia and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being made up. The retreat of this great officer gives universal concern in the army, and occasions great distress to the Queen and the rest of the royal family; nor is it easy to guess, when family differences begin, to what lengths they may be carried on either side." — *Mitchell MSS.*

(¹) Shortly after the prorogation of parliament, the affairs of Canada occupied the attention of the council. A report, containing a plan for the civil government of Quebec, was drawn up for its consideration by the attorney and solicitor-general; the principal feature of which was, to leave to the natives their ancient rights of property, or civil laws, and to temper the rigour of their criminal code, by the more equitable and liberal system of English jurisprudence. The Lord Chancellor represented the scheme as theoretical, visionary, and

to the general contents, I cannot help adding, that I congratulate you, very sincerely, on so honourable and so gracious a distinction.

I think myself very happy, in being the channel of conveying, what I think doth you so much honour, and I am persuaded will tend to the ease and happiness of so amiable and respectable a Sovereign, and to the advantage of this distracted kingdom.

It is the duty of my office to attend in London (though my health requires air and the country). If, therefore, on your arrival, you want any information, I shall be very ready and willing to afford you all I can.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Dear Sir,

Your most obedient,
most humble servant,
NORTHINGTON.

P.S.—I have not uttered a word of this business but to Lord Camden.

totally unworthy of practical statesmen. The meeting was dissolved, without coming to any definitive resolution ; and, on the following day, the Lord Chancellor, at an audience, informed the King that the ministry could not retain their situations ; declined attending any more cabinet meetings ; and refused, under these circumstances, to hold the great seal. On the 12th of July, the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham terminated. "Having held their offices," says Mr. Burke, "under many difficulties and discouragements, they left them at the express command, as they had accepted them at the earnest request, of their royal master."

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, July 7, 1766.

MR. PITT,

YOUR very dutiful and handsome conduct the last summer makes me desirous of having your thoughts how an able and dignified ministry may be formed. I desire, therefore, you will come, for this salutary purpose, to town.

I cannot conclude without expressing how entirely my ideas concerning the basis on which a new administration should be erected, are consonant to the opinion you gave on that subject in parliament a few days before you set out for Somersetshire. ⁽¹⁾

I convey this through the channel of the Earl of Northington; as there is no man in my service on whom I so thoroughly rely, and who, I know, agrees with me so perfectly in the contents of this letter.

GEORGE R.

⁽¹⁾ It is to be regretted that no trace of the speech referred to by his Majesty has been preserved. It was probably spoken in April, in the course of the debates on the illegality of general warrants, as Sir Andrew Mitchell in a note to Mr. Pitt, on the 25th of that month, "desires to know how he does after his fatigues in the House of Commons, and hopes he will appoint a time when he may converse with him once more, before he goes to Berlin; for without such a conversation, Sir Andrew thinks his journey will be to no purpose."

MR. PITT TO THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Tuesday, ten o'clock,

[July 8, 1766.]

MY LORD,

I RECEIVED this morning the honour of your Lordship's very obliging letter, inclosing his Majesty's most gracious commands in writing to me. I am indeed unable to express what I feel of unfeigned gratitude, duty, and zeal, upon this most affecting occasion. I will only say, that the remnant of my life, body, heart and mind, is at the direction of our most gracious and clement Sovereign.

I will hasten to town as fast as I am able, and will, at my arrival, take the liberty to avail myself of the very kind permission, your Lordship is so good as to allow me, of troubling you: in the mean time, I beg to express in a word, how truly sensible I am of the great honour your Lordship does me by such favourable sentiments on my subject, and to assure you how proud and happy I am in receiving such flattering marks of friendship and confidence from your Lordship.

I am, my Lord, &c.,

WILLIAM PITT.

MR. PITT TO THE KING.

[From a draught in Mr. Pitt's handwriting.]

Tuesday, [July 8, 1766.]

SIRE,

PENETRATED with the deepest sense of your Majesty's boundless goodness to me, and with a heart overflowing with duty and zeal for the honour and the happiness of the most gracious and benign Sovereign, I shall hasten to London, as fast as I possibly can; wishing that I could change infirmity into wings of expedition, the sooner to be permitted the high honour to lay at your Majesty's feet, the poor but sincere offering of the little services of

Your Majesty's

most dutiful subject,

and devoted servant,

WILLIAM PITT.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, Saturday, July 12, 1766.

MR. PITT,

THE Chancellor has acquainted me with your arrival in town. I desire, therefore, you will, if not too much fatigued with your journey, come here by one o'clock.

GEORGE R.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

Harley Street, July 12, 1766.

I WRITE this hasty line to my dearest life from the house of the Hoods⁽¹⁾; where I am perfectly well lodged. The history which I am happy to think my love wishes to hear is this, that I got safe to town, not over well, having found the fatigue of the first day too much for me. The bile was roused, and a little quickness of pulse made my own Esculapian skill necessary. I am, upon honour, much better to-day; have been at Richmond, and returned to a five o'clock chicken, which, had you been with me, would have been a happy banquet.

I expect Mr. James Grenville from Pinner every minute. I will not say how I long for the western post. May Heaven keep my love and our dear children well, and may I hear soon that you are all delighted with Weymouth! I expect many sage reflections from William, upon the public papers. Many blessings and tender kisses to them all. My pen is stopt by company entering. Good night.

W. PITT.

(1) Captain Alexander Hood, afterwards Lord Bridport. Mrs. Hood was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Richard West, prebendary of Durham, sister of Gilbert West the poet, and a connexion of Lady Chatham.

THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON TO MR. PITT.

London, July 14, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I AM sorry to find that you are so much out of order, and hope the air will speedily remove that complaint ; which I trust will not be immediately felt, as by his Majesty's commands, I yesterday wrote to Earl Temple, that the King desired to see him in London ; and, on the other side, you will see his answer, received since I began this page. I desire to know when you go to Hampstead ; as, if occasion requires, I may be able to communicate accordingly.

I will apprise the King of your unlucky situation ; who was so well satisfied with your dutiful behaviour, as to feel it accordingly. I am, with great respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and

humble servant,

NORTHINGTON.

P. S. — I was at Conway's, signing the marriage treaty⁽¹⁾, when your letter came.

(1) This was the treaty of marriage between the unfortunate princess Caroline Matilda, (the posthumous child of Frederick Prince of Wales and sister of George the Third,) and Christian the Seventh, King of Denmark. The marriage was celebrated by proxy, on the 1st of October, and the youthful Queen, then only in her sixteenth year, was sent an inexperienced victim to a court, in which, surrounded by spies and emissaries, who interpreting the trifling levities of youth into serious crimes, succeeded in inducing the King to become the engine of their

[Enclosure.]

EARL TEMPLE TO THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON.

MY LORD,

MY zeal to obey his Majesty's command, signified to me by your Lordship, will carry me to town with all the despatch in my power, at so short a warning.

No man in the kingdom can wish more ardently than I do, to see force and effect given to the King's government; having long lamented for my country, as your Lordship knows, the want of it.

Permit me to assure your Lordship, that I cannot receive the honour of the King's orders through any channel more agreeable to me than that of your Lordship, as I have always been with truth and kindness,

Your Lordship's humble servant,

TEMPLE.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Monday, July 14, 1766.

MY DEAR MR. PITT,

MY brother arrived last night about eleven o' clock — sent to me — I was in bed — saw him

malevolence, by signing an order for her imprisonment in the castle of Cronenburg; but, through the remonstrance of the court of St. James's, backed by the appearance of a British fleet in the Baltic, she was allowed to retire to Zell, in the electorate of Hanover; where she died, in neglect and obscurity, on the 10th of March 1775, in her twenty-fifth year.

early this morning, and have been with him till this moment.

He is just set out for Richmond. The King being gone out this morning, (when Lord Chancellor's messenger came with the account of Lord Temple's being in town) and the King not returning from his ride till late, prevented an earlier appointment, and hindered my brother from waiting upon you at Hampstead; being obliged to be in the way to receive his orders.

I have no certain result nor fixed ground of resolution to mention to you; but there appears a proper temper towards things in general, and a real cordiality of affection towards your person and sentiments. He desired me to assure you of his warmest respects, and, for want of a servant of his own to send a letter and of time to write one, he insisted upon my doing that office for him. He intends to wait upon you early to-morrow morning. His fixed purpose is to leave every thing in his conference with the King to a referendum for farther consideration with you: the general principles only, and inclinations of his mind towards the public service excepted. I do not wait upon you myself this evening, choosing that he should speak his own mind to you, when he has fixed it for himself.

I hope the country air has abated the feverish symptoms you felt when I had the pleasure of seeing you. I am,

Ever most affectionately yours,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, 15 m. past 7.
July 15, 1766.

MR. PITT,

LORD TEMPLE has been with me, and has desired me not to see you to-morrow, that he may have time fully to talk with you. I have, therefore, entrusted him to acquaint you, I shall not expect you then ; but, on recollection, I think it may be both of utility and not void of amazement, for you to know the substance of what has passed.

I opened to him a desire of seeing him in the Treasury, and, in conjunction with you, chalking out such an administration as can be formed, considering the unhappy divisions that subsist between men, yet taking the present administration for the basis to build on, with such alterations as might appear necessary.

I am sorry to see, though we only kept in generals, that he seems to incline to quarters very heterogeneous to my and your ideas, and almost a total exclusion to the present men,—which is not your plan ; but as we did not come to particulars, I hope I am not quite founded in my apprehensions.

I concluded with saying, I should only agree to such a plan as you could with pleasure be a part of ; but not to one, wherein you had not a principal share.

I should wish to see you on Thursday at eleven,

at the Queen's house ; as that will give you time to consider the whole of this weighty matter. This letter remains a perfect secret betwixt me and you, if you think it best that it should.

GEORGE R.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

North-end, July 15, 1766.

MY love will be pleased to receive a line, dated from this bower of refreshment, which indeed I began to want extremely. The rate honest Smith met me going at, and "blessed himself,"⁽¹⁾ proved too much for me ; especially as I could not give myself the repose I wanted at the end of my journey. In a word, three hot nights in town rendered a retreat hither necessary ; where I brought yesterday a feverish heat and much bile, and have almost lost it already.

I write with my own hand, merely because I have just been told, that the newspapers make me very ill, and in Harley-street. Let this account put my love at ease ; for I write upon honour, and should

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Pitt here alludes to a passage in a letter from Lady Chatham, which had just reached him — "Some time since I began this letter, Smith's honest yeomanry face has made its appearance upon Burton Hill. He tells me he met you four miles on the other side of Marlborough, 'Lud a mercy ! going at such a rate !'"

think I wronged you, if you were to be kept in ignorance, were my illness, as yet, serious.

I expect Lord Temple every hour in town, and am all impatience and solicitude for his determination. Heaven guard and preserve my love, and our little academy !

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

JOHN CALCRAFT, ESQ. TO MR. PITT.

Sackville Street, Tuesday night, twelve o'clock,
[July 15, 1766.]

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE some reason to fear Lord Temple's reception at Richmond was not the most flattering ; of which I take the liberty to give you this hint, as you possibly may qualify it at your meeting. I can confirm what I said, that there are no engagements, and must do his Lordship the justice to add, his sentiments towards you are what I wished to find them.

I long to hear you have recovered your fatigue, and have both kissed hands ; though there are others in town, who exist with very contrary hopes than those of, dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully and respectfully,

J. CALCRAFT.

EARL TEMPLE TO MR. PITT.

Tuesday night, past twelve,
[July 15, 1766.]

It is agreed with the King, that your audience be put off, that you and I may have full time to talk together. So I will call upon you early, and pass the whole day with you. I am, most affectionately, your loving brother,

TEMPLE.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY (¹)
TO MR. PITT.

London, July 15, 1766.

SIR,

HAVING received a letter from the Duke of Grafton, by which I am much disappointed, expecting instead of it to have seen his Grace by this time in town; and finding that, from the firm reliance he has upon every thing you may advise or settle, his Grace may possibly be still two or three days before he comes, I have immediately dispatched a messenger, whom I have ordered to call for your commands, and should wish, if you approved it, that you would say a short word to press his Grace: as, from what you did me the honour to say, I know

(¹) Second son of Francis, first Lord Conway, and brother of Francis, first Earl of Hertford. He was at this time secretary of state for the northern department.

how desirable you think his presence at this moment; and as for my own little part in the very delicate situation you were so good as to be sensible I stand, I feel it impossible to act conclusively, without his concurrence and advice.

I was extremely concerned, Sir, to hear that a little indisposition had carried you into the country. I hope for every reason, public and private, it will be as slight and short as possible. Nobody can, on all accounts, more sincerely wish you, Sir, a perfect establishment of that health, so necessary to your own comfort and your country's most essential service. I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON TO MR. PITT.

July 17, 1766, 5 p. m.

LORD NORTHINGTON presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt. He received Mr. Pitt's letter, while he was with the King, at the Queen's house this morning, and laid the contents before his Majesty; who was most generously and tenderly pleased to desire Mr. Pitt should consult his own health, withal desiring that when he found himself able, he would communicate the same to his Majesty.

When Mr. Pitt has fixed his plan and purpose, Lord Northington desires to have notice, as he stays in town, waiting that event only.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

North-end, July 17, 1766.

MY DEAREST LIFE,

I SEND this by an express, that I may the sooner have the joy of reading a letter from you in return. The state of my health is not yet quite what it should be ; some fever hanging upon me, and the conversation, from its length and *issue* yesterday, with Lord Temple, having been rather too much for my situation, which was greatly mended, though not quite in a natural state. My pulse quickened towards evening, so that I am advised to be peremptory with all business, and shut my door till I am quite free from fever.

Our dear Lord Temple returns to Stowe to-morrow, after having his audience of the King to-day. I must do justice to the kind and affectionate behaviour which he held throughout the whole of our long talk ; words would not paint it, were it fit for me to write long.

I will only say on the political state, that the King's goodness was truly affecting to me in my long audience. Embrace all the sweet children for papa.

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

MR. PITT TO LADY CHATHAM.

North-end, Saturday, 4 o'clock, July 19, 1766.

I ACT upon honour in what I say. I am so well as to have seen the Duke of Grafton to-day for two hours, without having my pulse in the least quickened, and I trust I shall be able, without risk, to attend the King by about Wednesday next. Be composed, my love. I trust in Providence, which carried me through so much, that I shall be preserved for the unlaborious work now before me, in comparison of former times. My general health seems not in the least shaken ; the feverish heat was merely fatigue. Again and again may the Almighty guard you !

Your ever loving husband,

W. PITT.

THE EARL OF NORTHINGTON TO MR. PITT.

Sunday, 5 p. m. July 20, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING seen his Majesty after the drawing-room to-day, I now sit down to answer your very obliging letter ; which, as far as it related to myself, I could not before do.

The invidious share that I have taken in the present business was the result of my sensible

feeling for my most gracious Master and this great commercial and brave country ; with which I thought nothing should stand in competition. I therefore determined not to be considerate of myself in any respect, but to stand forth as a public servant, or retire a private man, as either should contribute to the King's service.

As I suppose you might speak, with regard to me, in the style of partial consideration to the King you did to myself, I found his Majesty very desirous that I should take a great office in his administration ; to which I assented, and to that you so kindly pointed out. Though no office is so personally inviting as that I am now in, yet it is true what I urged, that my health cannot sustain the chancery, the woolsack, and state affairs. I need not, after what I said to you, say, that the succession of Lord Camden will be most agreeable to myself. Your own thoughts concerning yourself have my full concurrence in and approbation of their propriety, and the other persons mentioned have all due respect from me.

I shall only add, that if you lend your advice, as also your reputation, and the rest of the administration act with cordiality and resolution (from me you shall have the fullest support I can give), I see no difficulties to fright *men*.

I should have made you another visit after I had seen Lord Temple ; but I know, in general, how unseasonable visits are to invalids. If you are well enough, I would call at your most convenient hour

to-morrow. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant
NORTHINGTON.

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE TO MR. PITT.

Hill Street, four o'clock, [July 20, 1766.]

DEAR SIR,

I AM this moment honoured with your letter, and am as much obliged to you for the contents as my sense of my own inability will allow me. Your private wishes being engaged in my fortunes is, indeed, most flattering to me; and though I suspect they have already led you farther on my account, than you have told me, I cannot *now* help requesting most earnestly their continuance; as they alone can make the situation you mention honourable or happy; and I can, with the greatest truth affirm, that they alone encourage the undertaking it.

I shall take care to be prepared to attend his Majesty at twelve to-morrow, to receive his commands. I shall be very desirous for a few minutes conversation, Sir, with you afterwards, and will call at Hampstead in the evening, in hopes of it, if the next morning will not be more convenient, or

another time. I will take care not to abuse your permission by detaining you too long either then or now, as I trust you will believe no individual feels more concerned for Mr. Pitt's health, than one who has so much reason to be with the greatest respect, Dear Sir,

Your most obliged

humble servant,

SHELBURNE.

P. S. — You must permit me to add, how happy I am in the choice of a Chancellor.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Wakefield Lodge, Monday morning,
[July 21, 1766.]

SIR,

LEST you should imagine that I have met with Mr. Charles Townshend, I thought it proper to acquaint you, that he was set out from Atterbury for London before my message got there. Give me leave only to add, that if that gentleman makes difficulties of accepting the post you propose for him, in my opinion I see no way that it will answer the expectation of the public, but by your undertaking that office, which you have allotted me. I mean to chalk this out for your consideration; being fully determined to fulfil, to the best of my power, whatever station you place me in, dis-

agreeable as it may be to me, for many private considerations; and have the honour to be always, with the most perfect esteem and respect, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

GRAFTON.

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY
TO MR. PITT.

Pall-Mall, July 21, 1766.

SIR,

I HAD the favour of a note, by your desire, as I understand, informing me of some circumstances of the plan proposed by you in the settlements soon to take place.

After thanking you, Sir, for this confidential communication, I cannot but express my very great satisfaction in the important, and, I am sure I may say, judicious arrangement made for the Treasury, and the great and unexpected pleasure the Duke of Grafton's consent to it gave me, as I am persuaded it will universally do; without making any reflexion on what concerns Lord Rockingham in this disposition: and I am sure I may with great assurance say, that since it could not be the latter, nothing could, in my opinion, be better calculated to please and conciliate those in general with whom I have lately acted; nor add more to the general disposition I think and much hope there is amongst

them, to concur in the support of that system, with and under you ; in the forming of which, you have declared so favourable and flattering a disposition towards them.

I cannot but say, at the same time, that I am the happier in this prospect, because *human feelings* will always more or less intervene ; and because, in my own somewhat delicate situation, I am happy in every thing that tends to give ease and strength and union to that plan which I have long wished for, and which I shall have a particular happiness in seeing supported (for their honour as well as for the sake of certain feelings of my own, which you will I hope think excusable) by those in general, whose principles I have the honour to concur with you in approving.

I intended this trouble to be much shorter, and meant it principally to ask you, Sir, how far I am at liberty to mention the particulars communicated to me ; which I have hitherto kept most secret, though many of my friends tease me, in consequence of the goodness you honoured me with on Sunday se'nnight, to know what I hear or learn, and the rather as I have now heard the same circumstances from another quarter ; and getting out by that means, I may be accused of an affected concealment towards some who are so much interested : and with many I have seen little proofs of attention and confidence soon get the better of interest, and the want of it hurt more than much greater injuries. I speak this as it affects

my present situation of connection with several who expect it from me.

I am extremely glad to hear from Mr. Ranby, whom I saw this morning, so good an account of your amendment. I have been these two last days in the country, or should have certainly inquired after it more immediately, and nothing but the fear of being troublesome would have prevented my attempting to wait upon you ; which I shall be happy to do whenever it may not be inconvenient, and when I have that honour, shall give you as little trouble as possible ; but if in receiving your commands on any subject I could be thought in the least useful, should at the same time be happy if it depended upon me to give you the smallest information my situation might furnish that was worth your attention. I am, Sir, with the greatest truth and respect,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

H. S. CONWAY.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, 40 m. past ten, a. m.

July 22, 1766.

MR. PITT,

I AM glad you find yourself so much recovered as to be able to come to me to-morrow. I desire, therefore, you will attend me at the Queen's-house, at eleven in the forenoon.

GEORGE R.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO
MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, July 22, 1766.

SIR,

HAVING learned, from your message of this morning, that you have been obliged, by circumstances of public convenience, to contract the time which you before desired me to take, in giving my answer upon the subject of our last conversation, I should be sorry to oppose any wishes of mine to a consideration of so superior a nature. At the same time, it is with the utmost regret I now find myself under the necessity of determining upon a point of this nature, without any communication with Lord Townshend and others with whom I act in friendship.

When I had the honour of being appointed to the office which I now hold,⁽¹⁾ I refused acceptance, until I had first obtained, from the best authority, the fullest assurance that it had been proposed to me with his Majesty's entire approbation: upon the same principle, I am now ready to change it, if it be his Majesty's pleasure, and I should think myself both an ungrateful servant and a bad citizen, if, in such an hour as this, I should decline, from motives of interest or love of ease, resulting from the most lucrative office, to

(¹) Mr. Townshend was at this time paymaster-general.

take whatever station, his Majesty shall command me, in an administration, formed with his perfect approbation. It is doing me, I fear, too much honour to think I can be of much service to the public in any station, but in this I refer myself to the will of his Majesty, and would not be governed by my own sense or my own preferences. I am, with great personal respect, and the highest consideration, Sir,

Your most obedient, and
most humble servant,
C. TOWNSHEND.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, 5 m. past eight, p. m.,
July 24, 1766.

MR. PITT,

I AM glad your fever has not prevented your proceeding this day, and that you are enabled to lay before me to-morrow, the final arrangement of the Treasury. I shall therefore, be ready to receive you at the Queen's house at eleven.

GEORGE R.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Pinner, July 24, 1766.

MY DEAR MR. PITT,

I FEEL the greatest pleasure, and have the warmest thanks to return to you for the honour of your kind letter. The public satisfaction will, I trust, correspond with the genuine regard and attention, which you have invariably shown to the real interests of this country, and with the efficacy of your present endeavours to serve it.

The destination which you have been so good as to procure for me from his Majesty's grace and favour far exceed any claim of merit in me. I am sensible that my abilities to support the system of administration which you have formed are slender; but I can with truth speak of the ardour of my wishes for the success of it. If I could flatter myself, (which I almost do) that in this situation I may be as serviceable to your views, as if I had been appointed to any other more active employment, my desires would be complete.

My son⁽¹⁾ joins with me in his most affectionate respects to you and Lady Chatham.

I am ever your affectionate brother,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

(1) His eldest son James, at this time member for Thirsk.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO MR. PITT.

Grosvenor Square, Friday morning,
[July 25, 1766.]

DEAR SIR,

THINKING it very possible that I may not find you at home, as Mr. Townshend has just informed me that you were with the King, I sit down to write these few lines; first, to acquaint you that Mr. Townshend was last night so thoroughly convinced of your firmness in adhering to the determination concerning him, that he seemed to have laid aside all hopes of any change in his favour: he approved and admired the motive from which it came, and was sensible that as you had thought first of him, you had still the same opinion, notwithstanding the untoward circumstance that might render it difficult, or perhaps wrong, for you to revert again to him for the post that had been mentioned to him.

His wish was as strong that it might take place, but as he intimated that he did not desire that he should appear to solicit it too violently, I could not propose to him to see you again upon it, and to talk the point once more over, lest he should change his idea again, and look upon himself as *recherché*. On the contrary, I told him that I left you in the same way of thinking; which, perhaps, made him still more look upon it as a desperate case.

Thus, Sir, the matter stands. On the other hand, every dissatisfied person is endeavouring to persuade the Duke of Portland, Dowdeswell, &c., that they are slighted by being left without any notice whether they are to be in or out. The consequences of all these points considered, and the declarations that have been spread by Mr. Townshend's friends, that he is not to be the man, joined to the inclosed note I have received from him since I have begun this letter, convince me, that I must and do readily wave my own feelings; readily embrace the proposition of leaving Mr. Dowdeswell where he is, as I plainly perceive that it is for the general good, and very likely for my own private ease of mind.

Thus, Sir, you will judge what is proper to be hinted to him, and I am sure will do it in the best manner; but some intimation seems necessary.

Lord John Cavendish, by letter, has signified to me his intentions of quitting. I shall be in town on Sunday evening, and if you would have me wait on you in my way to town, it is but little out of my way, and a line by to-night's post will be obeyed, if directed to Wakefield Lodge, near Stony Stratford, Bucks.

I am, Sir, with the most perfect esteem and respect,

Your very faithful

humble servant,

GRAFTON.

P.S. — I recollect that the post does not go to Stony Stratford to-night, but by inclosing it to the post-master at Newport Pagnell, with orders to send it over, the letter will get to me early in the day to-morrow.

My brother⁽¹⁾ told me, that on dining with the young people at Holland-house, Lord Tavistock⁽²⁾ had declared to him, that the Duke of Bedford would see with pleasure the Treasury filled as intended, and yourself at the head of the administration; that the Duke would have no post again, but by placing properly a few of his friends he would be perfectly satisfied with what was doing. I thought it right to open my letter again, to give you this information, which opens more the scene. In case you approve of Mr. Dowdeswell, I have left in Mr. Conway's hands, who means to wait on you this evening, a note drawn up with my compliments to him, to be sent or not as you shall think proper.

(¹) The Hon. Charles Fitzroy, at this time colonel of the fourteenth dragoons, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber, and member for St. Edmundsbury. In 1780, he was created Baron Southampton, of Southampton, in the county of Hants; and died in 1797.

(²) Francis Russell, marquis of Tavistock, father of the present Duke of Bedford, and at this time member for Bedford. In the following March, this young nobleman fractured his skull, by a fall from his horse, while hunting, of which he died. He married Lady Elizabeth Keppel, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle; who, inconsolable for her loss, died with grief, in the following year.

[Enclosure.]

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO THE
DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Friday noon, [July 25, 1766.]

MY DEAR LORD,

I MEAN to desire an audience this morning of the King. If any thing should pass, you will give me leave to transmit it to you. I cannot conclude without repeating my assurances of inseparable attachment to your Grace and Mr. Pitt, ⁽¹⁾ and my satisfaction to recollect that the late transaction has had one good effect, that of bringing me to be known with more exactness both by your Grace and Mr. Pitt.

Upon the whole, it is possibly as well for the public, that things are finally settled as they are, and I agree with Mr. Pitt in his idea of the dangers arising from sudden variations in matters once communicated. An union with you is a great object with me ; but that may be formed as we are.

I am, with the utmost regard, my dear Lord,

Your affectionate

and faithful humble servant

C. TOWNSHEND.

(¹) In a letter written in June, 1765, to Mr. Charles Dingley, at whose house, at North-end, Mr. Pitt was now residing, Mr. Townshend says : — "I thank you for your account of our friend at Hayes. I rejoice to hear he grows so much better ; for, believe me, events every hour hasten that issue, in which Mr. Pitt's superior talents, his unrivalled weight with the nation, and his reputation in Europe, must give him the decision of every point in the re-establishment of this distracted and unhappy country."

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

St. James's, 15 m. past four, p. m.,
July 25, 1766.

MR. PITT,

I THINK it necessary to acquaint you with my having seen Mr. Townshend ; who expressed to me his reasons for having determined to stay in the Pay-office. I told him there must be some misunderstanding, for that you had this morning acquainted me with his desire of being Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He left me, uncertain what he should do ; but that, if he took it, he must say it was by my express commands, not his choice ; that what he held was more honourable and worth seven thousand pounds per annum, whilst the other was but two thousand five hundred pounds ; that if he accepted, he hoped he should have some indemnification ; that Lord Rockingham being quiet would much depend on Mr. Dowdeswell's remaining Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In short, he left me in a state of great uncertainty, and means to talk again with you. From Lord Rockingham I learned, that if Lord Dartmouth is not made a third secretary of state, he will retire ; therefore, a first lord of trade must be thought of.

GEORGE R.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, 15 m. past eight, a. m.
July 26, 1766.

MR. PITT,

I RECEIVED your letter last night, and am entirely of opinion with you, that it is essential Mr. Townshend must be obliged to put in execution what he so clearly expressed to you as his wish. My only reason for writing to you was, that you might be apprised of his fluctuating.

Mr. Stanley's conduct causes me no surprise ; as I am thoroughly persuaded of his attachment and zeal for my service. I desire, therefore, you will appoint him to be with me after the drawing-room, to-morrow.

GEORGE R.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES TOWNSHEND TO
MR. PITT.

July 26, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour of your friendly letter, in which you are so kind as to relate to me the manner in which you have this day represented to his Majesty the conversations which have passed between us upon the subject of the Chancellorship of

the Exchequer. Your recommendation to any office of rank and trust, is in itself the highest satisfaction to me, and would be thought by the world to be the greatest honour to any man. The personal love I have for the Duke of Grafton is with me another very strong motive for accepting the post you wish in a ministry formed under your sanction; and when these motives are confirmed by the express commands of my Sovereign, whose will, in the disposal of any consequence or talents I have, is to me a law, I hesitate not, from motives of interest or love of ease, to take that post which conforms to your wishes, my plan of union with the Duke of Grafton, and the commands of my Sovereign.

It is my earnest wish to cultivate and merit, in every measure of business and act of my life, your confidence and esteem; and I shall be happy indeed, if, in the pressing and critical circumstances of this kingdom, I should be acknowledged by posterity to have in any degree contributed, under your protection, to facilitate the re-establishment of general confidence, real government, and a permanent system of measures.

I am, with the most perfect regard and sincere esteem, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend, and

very devoted humble servant,

C. TOWNSHEND.

THE KING TO MR. PITT.

Richmond Lodge, 35 m. past ten,
July 26, 1766.

MR. PITT,

It gives me great pleasure that Mr. Townshend has at length clearly accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. You will therefore proceed with regard to the joint-paymaster, and the thinking of a commissioner of trade and plantations; as I believe there is but little chance of Lord Dartmouth choosing to remain.

GEORGE R.

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

Burlington Street, July 27, 1766.

MY DEAR MR. PITT,

I WAS not at home when your messenger, on his return from Pinner, came to Burlington-street; which made it somewhat late in the evening before I received the honour of your letter. I am sensible of the marks of your goodness to me in the proposed offer of the offices you mention, and it would give me particular satisfaction to correspond with your wishes, by adapting myself to any situation that would be most suitable to them; but if it may be done without a considerable inconvenience to other arrangements, I should choose to decline the acceptance of either of those offices. It will

be, I confess, much more agreeable to me to continue, according to the destination of your former letter, joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, than joint paymaster-general, or even first commissioner at the board of trade. At the same time, I am full of acknowledgments to you for the favour and honour you do me in thinking of me for that department, where an object of real pride and ambition would present itself to my mind, by my being placed in a situation to act in conformity to your ideas for the service of the King's affairs, and for the public interest. I intreat the favour of you to make my affectionate compliments to Lady Chatham ; and believe me to be, my dear Sir,

Your very affectionate brother,

JAMES GRENVILLE.

EARL TEMPLE TO LADY CHATHAM.

Stowe, July 27, 1766.

MY DEAR LADY CHATHAM,

WE returned last night from Blenheim, where the new water is wonderfully fine, and gives a striking character of beauty and magnificence to the whole place.

I am much concerned that the ill state of Mr. Pitt's health should have called you to town, instead of paying your intended visit to the salutary sea-waters of Weymouth.

I should most willingly have avoided with you the subject of the present times⁽¹⁾, but the contents of your letter make it indispensably necessary for me not to leave you a stranger to the indignation with which I received the proposition of being stuck into a ministry as a great cipher at the head of the Treasury, surrounded with other ciphers, all named by Mr. Pitt, of a different complexion from me, with some of whom I had so essentially differed

(¹) The disagreement between Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple is thus noticed, in a letter from the Earl of Chesterfield to his son. The pamphlet referred to, which was entitled "An Enquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner," was, however, not written by his Lordship, but by Mr. Humphry Cotes: — "The causes and consequences of Mr. Pitt's quarrel now appear in print, in a pamphlet published by Lord Temple. It is very scurrilous and scandalous, and betrays private conversation. My Lord says, that, in his last conference, he thought he had as good a right to nominate the new ministry as Mr. Pitt, and consequently named Lord Gower, Lord Lyttelton, &c., for cabinet council employments; which Mr. Pitt not consenting to, Lord Temple broke up the conference, and in his wrath went to Stowe; where I presume he may remain undisturbed a great while, since Mr. Pitt will neither be willing nor able to send for him again." Lord Barrington also mentions the circumstance in a letter of the 31st of July, to Sir Andrew Mitchell: — "I must give you," he says, "a short history of the change which has just happened. Sunday, the 6th of this month, the King told Lord Rockingham, that the chancellor had just been giving his opinion, and reasons on which it was founded, why the administration should no longer be left in its then weak state. His Majesty repeated what had passed in this conversation, adding his own arguments on the subject, and concluded with saying, that it was his duty to strengthen his government. He accordingly sent for Mr. Pitt, by whose advice, as is supposed, the King also sent for Lord Temple, and offered him the Treasury; but his lordship, after some conversation with Mr. Pitt, said to have been very warm, went back to Stowe."

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on many accounts, and more especially with all during the last session. But I was determined my temper should be equal to my firmness, conversing with an old friend, whom I had much esteemed, and to whom I had, with so much partiality, so much deferred through life, labouring, as he did at the time, under bodily infirmity.

My brother James is no stranger to my thoughts upon this matter, even after cool reflection on my pillow, and I told the King and my Lord Chancellor to this effect, amongst a variety of other things, that though I was most willing to sacrifice my brother's⁽¹⁾ pretensions, as he was himself, to Mr. Pitt's indisposition towards him, for the sake of public and general union, yet as that in my opinion was not the plan, I would not *go in like a child, to come out like a fool.*⁽²⁾

To you, my dear sister, I will say no more on this extensive subject, satisfied as I am with your fair, upright, and amiable conduct throughout. In

(1) Mr. George Grenville.

(2) "At the audience of the King," says the pamphlet referred to in the preceding note, "Lord Temple told his Majesty, that Mr. Pitt's terms were of such a nature, that he could not possibly accept of them consistently with his honour; that he had made a sacrifice of his brother to Mr. Pitt's resentment, in order to accommodate with him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom were personal enemies to his lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points of government; and would not permit him to name one friend for the cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence, and had assumed a power to himself, to which his lordship never could submit; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that *he went in like a child, to go out like a fool.*"

certain situations, appearances are realities, and, in all, false appearances I hate. Our reciprocal country visits cannot, therefore, take place as we intended. Be assured, however, that you will always find in me towards you the warmest affection, founded in real esteem, and that I am

Your most truly affectionate brother,

TEMPLE.

LORD NORTH ⁽¹⁾ TO MR. PITT.

Dillington, July 29, 1766.

SIR,

I AM just waked by the arrival of your most obliging letter. The offer it contains is beyond my merits or pretensions, and it is with the utmost thankfulness that I accept of this gracious mark of his Majesty's goodness.

I hope very soon to have the pleasure of waiting upon you in town, and shall then be able more fully to express in conversation, than I can now do by letter, the gratitude that I feel for this very great and unsolicited instance of your friendly partiality towards me. The too good opinion you conceive of your humble servant, and the sentiments you retain for a family you have long

⁽¹⁾ The Honourable Frederick North, eldest son of Francis, first Earl of Guilford; at this time member for Bamber. See Vol. I. p. 409.

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honoured with your friendship, call for my sincerest thanks, and give, if possible, an additional value to the favour they accompany.

But I do assure you, that the satisfaction I received from your letter was not confined to the particular advantages that result to me from the present arrangement: I most heartily partake of the joy, which every true friend to this country must feel at the fair prospect now opened to the public, in the integrity, weight, and abilities of those to whom his Majesty entrusts the principal direction of his affairs.

I propose to be in London on Thursday morning. In the meanwhile, I must beg leave to trouble you to lay before his Majesty my dutiful and grateful acceptance of this mark of his royal favour.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and

obedient humble servant,

NORTH.

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Albemarle Street, November, 1839.

MR. MURRAY'S LIST
OF HIS
MOST RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. CXXVIII.,

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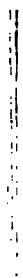
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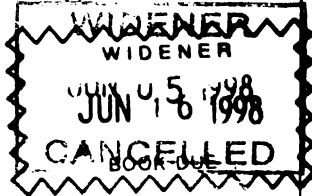
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What you tell me of St. Ferdinand,
and Count Dohna makes me all
Impatience. I trust, with a happy
Dependence upon Him, in whom alone
it is to give Victory; Westcott

most affectionately Yours
Greville.

Fortune comes to you in the only
manner in which you would give
her a hearty Welcome; she is
brought by Virtue and attended
by Honour. Lytton

— your wisdom appears ab. to my dear Sir
in every Thing; in Retirement, as in Business;
in your firmness, and moderation: in the
part you do take, and in that you do
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T Nuttall

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au chateau de fermay pres de
Geneve 19 juillet 1762

— while you weight the interests of England and France,
y^r great mind may at one time reconcile Corneille with
Shakespeare. y^r name at the head of subscribers shall
be the greatest honour the letters can receive.

Votre.

— being firmly persuaded, that every time a Man smiles,
— but much more so, when he laughs, that it adds
something to this Fragment of Life. Laurence Sterne

Quell'omaggio, che io ho reso a Vostra
Eccellenza in pubblico, la supplico permettemi
di renderle ora in privato.

Pisa 28 Febbraio 1763 Francesco Algarotti

Samuel Gascoyne Lally

Comte de Fuentes

A. H. George Lock
de Ferone Ever yrs
Granville

Je suis bien fâché que, des raisons dictées
par la bonté m'obligent à me priver
de l'avantage, de vous rendre mes devoirs
à Bath Charles parinure di
de Branc

June 17 1765 Richmond Lodge

Mr Pitt & this moment with
the utmost joy receive His Majesty's
commands to desire you would attend
him at the Queen's House on Wednesday
at ten in the morning below
stairs he allows for the informants
of the goat but also know where men
is.

William

Richmond Lodge

July 7th 1766.

M^r. Pitt Your very Dutiful & Handsome servant
The last summer makes Me desirous of having
Your thoughts how an Able & Dignified Ministry
may be form'd, I desire therefore You will come
for this salutary purpose to Town.

I cannot conclude without expressing how
entirely my ideas concerning the Basis on which

a new Administration should be erected, and
consonant to the opinion You gave on that subject
in Parliament a few days before You set out for
Somersetshire.

I convey this through the Channel of the Earl
of Nottingham, as there is no Man in my service on
whom I so thoroughly rely & who I know agrees with
me so perfectly in the contents of this letter

Georges